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(Continued from January Number)

CHAPTER II THE CHURCH ESTABLISHED

In an account of the missions written by Father Claude Dablon, S. J., within a few years after Marquette's voyages, and certainly before 1680, we read:

Father Jacques Marquette, having promised the Illinois on his voyage to them in 1673 that he would return to them the following year, to teach them the mystery of our religion, had much difficulty in keeping his word. The great hardships of his first voyage had brought upon him a sickness, and had so weakened him that he was giving up the hope of undertaking a second. However, his sickness decreased; and, as it had almost entirely abated by the close of the summer in the following year, he obtained the permission of his superiors to return to the Illinois and there begin that fair mission."¹

This journey was begun on the 25th of October, 1674. Father Marquette was accompanied this time only by two Frenchmen, one named Pierre Porteret and the other named Jacques Le Carter. The journey is described in more or less detail in a journal which Father Marquette kept, and is amplified and completed in a letter of Father Dablon to his superior.

MARQUETTE'S SECOND VOYAGE

By means of these documents we learn that on December 4, 1674, the little party reached the mouth of the Chicago River which Father Marquette called the River of the Portage.

¹ Thwaites *Jesuit Relations*, LIX, p. 185.

"Having encamped near the portage two leagues up the river," says Father Marquette, "we resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself too much fatigue."²

Father Dablon tells us that Father Marquette and his associates "constructed a cabin in which to pass the winter."³

It was a hard winter and Father Marquette and his companions needed very much the help that the friendly Indians gave them, and were especially gratified to learn of the presence in the near neighborhood of a surgeon and companion Frenchman named la Toupine. The Indians it appears notified these lonely Frenchmen dwelling amongst the savages of that day of Father Marquette's whereabouts and condition, and

As soon as the two Frenchmen learned that my illness prevented me from going to them, the surgeon came here with a savage to bring us some blueberries and corn. They are only 18 leagues from here in a fine place for hunting cattle, deer, and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had also collected provisions while waiting for us; and had given the savages to understand that their cabin belonged to the black gown; and it may be said that they have done and said all that could be expected from them. After the surgeon had spent some time here, in order to perform his devotions, I sent Jacque with him to tell the Illinois near that place that my illness prevented me from getting to see them; and that I would even have some difficulty in going there in the spring if it continued.

Jacque returned with a sack of corn and other delicacies, which the French had given him for me. He also brought the tongues and flesh of two cattle which a savage and he had killed near there. But all the animals feel the bad weather.⁴

FIRST RESIDENT OF CHICAGO

Suffering from the inclemency of the weather, extreme inconveniences and a new development of his old malady, Father Marquette and his two companions lived through the winter within what is now the boundaries of Chicago and thus became the first inhabitants of this now wonderful American metropolis.

During his stay in Chicago in the winter of 1674 and 1675, Father Marquette said Mass daily when his health would permit, on an altar raised by him in the cabin where he and his companions dwelt. He was unable to say the Mass of the Conception on the 8th of December, but writes in his journal of the 15th, that being rid of the Illinois Indians "we said the Mass of the Conception."⁵

² *Ibid.*, p. 173.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 187.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 175-177.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

MARQUETTE'S LIFE IN CHICAGO

The routine of Marquette's daily life in what is now Chicago, enacted two and a half centuries ago makes an interesting recital. He had begun his journey on October 25, 1674, and commenced a journal of his travels on the 26th.

In this journal he made entries, not every day, but from time to time, from which we learn that he and his companions, accompanied by some savages, had reached the neighborhood of the mouth of the Chicago River (referred to by Marquette as the river of the portage) by the end of November. Beginning with December 1st, the journal reads:

1. We went ahead of the savages, so that I might celebrate holy Mass.

3. After saying holy Mass, we embarked, and were compelled to make for a point, so that we could land, on account of floating masses of ice.

4. We started with a favoring wind, and reached the river of the portage, which was frozen to the depth of half a foot; there was more snow there than elsewhere, as well as more tracks of animals and turkeys.

Navigation on the lake is fairly good from one portage to the other, for there is no crossing to be made, and one can land anywhere, unless one persist in going on when the waves are high and the wind is strong. The land bordering it is of no value, except on the prairies. There are eight or ten quite fine rivers. Deer-hunting is very good, as one goes away from the Poutewatamis.

12. As we began yesterday to haul our baggage in order to approach the portage, the Illinois who had left the Poutewatamis arrived, with great difficulty. We were unable to celebrate holy Mass on the day of the Conception, owing to the bad weather and cold. During our stay at the entrance of the river, Pierre and Jacques killed three cattle and four deer, one of which ran some distance with its heart split in two. We contented ourselves with killing three or four turkeys, out of many that came around our cabin because they were almost dying of hunger. Jacques brought in a partridge that he had killed, exactly like those of France except that it had two ruffs, as it were, of three or four feathers as long as a finger, near the head covering the two sides of the neck where there are no feathers.

14. Having encamped near the portage, two leagues up the river, we resolved to winter there, as it was impossible to go farther, since we were too much hindered and my ailment did not permit me to give myself much fatigue. Several Illinois passed yesterday, on their way to carry their furs to Nawaskingwe; we gave them one of the cattle and one of the deer that Jacque had killed on the previous day. I do not think that I have ever seen any savages more eager for French tobacco than they. They came and threw beaver skins at our feet, to get some pieces of it, but we returned these, giving them some pipefuls of the tobacco because we had not yet decided whether we would go farther.

15. Chachagwessiou and the other Illinois left us, to go and join their people and give them the goods that they had brought, in order to obtain their robes. In this they act like the traders, and give hardly any more than do the French. I instructed them before their departure, deferring the holding of a council until the spring, when I should be in their village. They traded us three fine robes

of ox-skins for a cubit of tobacco; these were very useful to us during the winter. Being thus rid of them, we said the Mass of the Conception. After the 14th, my disease turned into a bloody flux.

30. Jacque arrived from the Illinois village, which is only six leagues from here; there they were suffering from hunger, because the cold and snow prevented them from hunting. Some of them notified La Toupine and the surgeon that we were here; and, as they could not leave their cabin, they had so frightened the savages, believing that we should suffer from hunger if we remained here, that Jacque had much difficulty in preventing fifteen young men from coming to carry away all our belongings.

January 16, 1675. As soon as the two Frenchmen learned that my illness prevented me from going to them, the surgeon came here with a savage, to bring us some blueberries and corn. They are only eighteen leagues from here, in a fine place for hunting cattle, deer and turkeys, which are excellent there. They had also collected provisions while waiting for us; and had given the savages to understand that their cabin belonged to the black gown; and it may be said that they have done and said all that could be expected of them. After the surgeon had spent some time here, in order to perform his devotions, I sent Jacque with him to tell the Illinois near that place that my illness prevented me from going to see them; and that I would even have some difficulty in going there in the spring, if it continued.

24. Jacque returned with a sack of corn and other delicacies, which the French had given him for me. He also brought the tongues and flesh of two cattle, which a savage and he had killed near there. But all the animals feel the bad weather.

26. Three Illinois brought us, on behalf of the elders, two sacks of corn, some dried meat, pumpkins, and twelve beaver-skins: first, to make me a mat; second, to ask me for powder; third, that we might not be hungry; fourth, to obtain a few goods. I replied: first, that I had come to instruct them, by speaking to them of prayer, etc.; second, that I would give them no powder, because we sought to restore peace everywhere, and I did not wish them to begin war with the Muamis [Miami]; third, that we feared not hunger; fourth, that I would encourage the French to bring them goods, and that they must give satisfaction to those who were among them for the beads which they had taken as soon as the surgeon started to come here. As they had come a distance of twenty leagues, I gave them, in order to reward them for their trouble and for what they had brought me, a hatchet, two knives, three clasp-knives, ten brasses of glass beads, and two double-mirrors, telling them that I would endeavor to go to the village, for a few days only, if my illness continued. They told me to take courage, and to remain and die in their country; and that they had been informed that I would remain there for a long time.

THE FIRST NOVENA

For relief from his sickness Father Marquette "commenced a novena with Mass,—at which Pierre and Jacque, who do everything they can to relieve me, received communion,—to ask God to restore my health."⁶ This novena, begun apparently on February 1st, and

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 179.

ending on February 9th, was no doubt the first ever made in Illinois. Struggling through the winter, patiently waiting the opportunity and praying for strength to proceed to the site of his mission, Marquette tells us that :

On the 28th of March the ice broke up and stopped above us. On the 29th the waters rose so high that we had barely time to decamp as fast as possible, putting our goods in the trees and trying to sleep on a hillock. The water gained on us nearly all night, but there was a slight freeze and the water fell a little while we were near our packages. The barrier has just broken, the ice has drifted away; and, because the water is already rising, we are about to embark to continue our journey.⁷

The spirit that could look upon this direful winter with, not to say complaisance but with thankfulness, must be a lofty one indeed. The holy missionary tells us :

The blessed Virgin Immaculate has taken such care of us during our wintering that we have not lacked provisions, and have still remaining a large sack of corn, with some meat and fat. We also lived very pleasantly for my illness did not prevent me from saying Holy Mass every day. We were unable to keep Lent except on Fridays and Saturdays.⁸

On the 30th of March the little company left the cabin for the difficult passage to the village of the Illinois. "The very highlands alone are not flooded," says Father Marquette, and whereas, when he and Joliet passed up the river eighteen months before they were obliged to carry their canoes and supplies for a considerable distance, now the whole region is covered with water, and Father Marquette speaks of two lakes which are "full of bustards, geese, ducks, cranes and other games unknown to us."⁹ The ice was drifting down the river and the strong winds and cold weather greatly interfered with their progress. They are still some distance from the Indian village on the 6th of April where they meet the surgeon and a savage accompanying him with a canoe load of furs, and here Father Marquette's journal ends.

We are not left in doubt, however, as to subsequent developments, for Father Claude Dablon, who undoubtedly had complete verbal reports of all his movements, says that he (Marquette) set out for the village on the 29th of March and "spent eleven days on the way, during which time he had occasion to suffer much, both from his own

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 181.

⁸ *Ibid.* p. 181.

⁹ *Ibid.* p. 183.

illness from which he had not entirely recovered, and from the very severe and unfavorable weather.”

THE CHURCH ESTABLISHING, HOLY THURSDAY, APRIL 11, 1675

The story of Marquette's arrival at the Indian village and the formal establishment of the Catholic Church in the territory now known as the State of Illinois is best told in the contemporaneous account of Father Dablon who had it first had from eye witnesses of the facts. It is as follows:

On at last arriving at the village, he [Marquette] was received as an angel from Heaven. After he had assembled at various times the Chiefs of the nation, with all the old men, that he might sow in their minds the first seeds of the gospel, and after having given instructions in the cabins, which were always filled with a great crowd of people, he resolved to address all in public, in a general assembly which he called together in the open air, the cabins being too small to contain all the people. It was a beautiful prairie, close to a village, which was selected for the great council [on the prairie near the site of the present city of Utica, La Salle County, Illinois]; this was adorned after the fashion of the country by covering it with mats and bearskins. Then the father, having directed them to stretch out upon lines several pieces of Chinese taffeta, attached to these four large pictures of the Blessed Virgin which were visible on all sides. The audience was composed of 500 chiefs and elders, seated in a circle around the father, and of all the young men, who remained standing. They numbered more than 1,500 men, without counting the women and children, who are always numerous,—the village being composed of five or six hundred fires. The father addressed the whole body of people, and conveyed to them ten messages by means of ten presents which he gave them. He explained to them the principal mysteries of our religion, and the purpose that had brought him to their country. Above all, he preached to them Jesus Christ, on the very eve of that great day on which He had died upon the Cross for them, as well as for all the rest of mankind; then he said holy Mass.

DEDICATES THE MISSION OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN

On the third day after, which was Easter Sunday, things being prepared in the same manner as on Thursday, he celebrated the Holy Mysteries for the second time; and by these two, the only sacrifices ever offered there to God, he took possession of that land in the name of Jesus Christ, and gave to that mission the name of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin.

He was listened to by all those peoples with universal joy, and they prayed him with most earnest entreaty to come back to them as soon as possible, since his sickness obliged him to return. The father, on his side, expressed to them the affection which he felt for them, and the satisfaction that they had given him, and pledged them his word that he, or some other of our fathers would return to carry on that mission so happily inaugurated. This promise he repeated several times, while parting with them to go upon his way, and he set off with

so many tokens of regard on the part of those good peoples that, as a mark of honor they chose to escort him for more than 30 leagues on the road, vying with each other in taking charge of his slender baggage.¹⁰

Thus was Christianity introduced in the interior of America and thus the Catholic Church established, which, in unbroken continuity, has flourished, and like the mustard seed of the Scriptures, grown and expanded from that to the present day.

The plain upon which Father Marquette reared his sylvan altar, and where was gathered around him these red children of the forest while he inaugurated the Church, lies on the banks of the Illinois River not far distant from the present site of the city of Utica, and the very spot has been quite accurately located by Parkman and other historians, but to the present time remains unmarked. It is not far distant from the majestic hill that has become known as Starved Rock, which is associated with the very earliest memories of the Illinois country.

The sacred spot upon which Father Marquette stood when founding the mission of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the name which he gave this first foundation in the interior of what is now the United States, is one of the most hallowed in all America, and it is not unreasonable to hope that a people grateful for the blessings which this saintly pioneer invoked, and justly proud of his character and his works, will erect a shrine or some other suitable monument that will become an object of pious pilgrimage and a situs of prayer and thanksgiving.

DEATH OF FATHER MARQUETTE

Although Father Marquette's direct connection with what is now the State of Illinois ended on that Easter Sunday evening, April 14, 1675, when he departed from his newly established mission, this story would be very incomplete did it not tell something of the few months following in which the gentle missionary attempted a return to his associates at Michilimackinac, and during which he yielded up his spirit to its Maker. These incidents, too, have been related in detail by Father Claude Dablon, the Superior of the Missions. We are told by Father Dablon that after preaching to his Indian auditors a last farewell, they had prayed him most earnestly to come back to them as soon as possible. On his side, Father Marquette "pledged them his word that he or some other of our fathers would return to carry on that mission so happily inaugurated. This promise he repeated

¹⁰ *Ibid.* p. 189-191.

several times while parting with them to go on his way, and he set out with so many tokens of regard on the part of those good people, that as a mark of honor they chose to escort him for more than thirty leagues on the road, vieing with each other in taking care of his slender baggage." Father Dablon advises us that after reaching the lake, he and his two companions coasted along the southern shore, and as they proceeded he became so feeble and exhausted that he was unable to assist himself and had to be handled and carried about like a child. This condition continued for several days. "The evening before his death, which was a Friday, he told them very joyously that it would take place on the morrow," and conversed with them, giving them explicit directions as to his burial. They brought him to the land, lighted a little fire and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark, and laid him down there in the least uncomfortable way they could. Thus stretched upon the ground, he prepared himself for death and gave him companions his final instructions. When his hour was come, his companions drew near him and he embraced them once again while they burst into tears at his feet, and "with a countenance beaming and all aglow, he expired without a struggle, and so gently that it might have been regarded as a pleasant sleep" [May 19, 1675]. His two companions disposed his body in the manner which he had directed and buried it as he had bidden and planted a large cross near his grave as a sign to passers by.

A STRIKING FUNERAL PROCESSION

If Father Marquette's death was lonely in the midst of the forest, he nevertheless had a notable funeral procession. Father Dablon tells us:

God did not permit that a deposit so precious should remain in the midst of the forest unhonored and forgotten. The Savages named Kiskakons, who have been making public profession of Christianity for nearly ten years, and who were instructed by Father Marquette when he lived at the point of St. Esprit, at the extremity of Lake Superior, carried on their last winter's hunting in the vicinity of the lake of the Illinois. As they were returning in the spring, they were greatly pleased to pass near the grave of their good father, whom they tenderly loved; and God also put into their hearts to remove his bones and bring them to our Church at the Mission of St. Ignace at Missilimackinac, where those Savages made their abode.

They repaired then to the spot, and resolved among themselves to act in regard to the father as they are wont to do toward those for whom they profess great respect. Accordingly, they opened the grave, and uncovered the body; and, although the flesh and internal organs were all dried up, they found it entire, so that not even the skin was in any way injured. This did not prevent them from proceeding to dissect it as is their custom. They cleansed the bones and

exposed them to the sun to dry; then, carefully laying them in a box of birch-bark, they set out to bring them to our mission of St. Ignace.

There were nearly thirty canoes which formed, in excellent order, that funeral procession. There were also a goodly number of Iroquois, who united with our Algonquin Savages to lend more honor to the ceremonial. When they drew near our house, Father Nouvel, who is the superior, with Father Piercon, went out to meet them, accompanied by the Frenchmen and Savages who were there; and having halted the procession, he put the usual questions to them, to make sure that it was really the father's body which they were bringing. Before conveying it to land, they intoned the *de profundis* in the presence of the thirty canoes, which were still on the water, and of the people who were on the shore. After that, the body was carried to the Church, care being taken to observe all that the ritual appoints in such ceremonies. It remained exposed under the pall, all that day, which was Whitsun-Monday, the 8th, of June; and on the morrow after having rendered to it all the funeral rites, it was lowered into a small vault in the middle of the Church, where it rests as the Guardian Angel of our Outaouas [Ottawa] Missions.¹¹

But in time the little church was destroyed and the precious deposit under it for a time was lost and mayhap forgotten. On September 3, 1877, more than two hundred years after being buried there the bones of Father Marquette were found by Very Reverend Edmund Jacker. The little monument erected over the grave thus discovered near Point Ignace, at the head of East Moran Bay, covers part of the remains. Other parts are preserved in Marquette College, Milwaukee.¹²

AN ECHO OF THE PAST

We catch a glimpse of Father Marquette's original burial place a century and nearly a half after his death. Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, well known Chicago pioneer, was skirting Lake Michigan with a party of fur-traders in 1818 and relates this incident of the journey:

Our journey around Lake Michigan was rather a long one, having occupied about twenty days. Nothing of interest transpired until we reached Marquette River, about where the town of Ludington now stands. This was the spot where Father Marquette died, about one hundred and forty years before, and we saw the remains of a red cedar cross, erected by his men at the time of his death to mark his grave; and though his remains had been removed to the mission at Point St. Ignace, the cross was held sacred by the voyageurs, who, in passing, paid reverence to it by kneeling and making the sign of the cross. It was about three feet above the ground and in a falling condition. We reset it, leaving it out of the ground about two feet, and as I never saw it after, I doubt not that it was covered by the drifting sands of the following winter, and that no white man ever saw it afterwards.¹³

¹¹ *Jesuit Relations*, Chapter LIX, pp. 201-205.

¹² Jones, *Jesuit Relations* 71, p. 150.

¹³ The Autobiography of Gurdon Saltonstall Hubbard, pp. 31-2.

REMARKABLE OCCURRENCES IN CONNECTION WITH FATHER MARQUETTE

It is not unusual for good and holy persons to be able to foretell with more or less accuracy the time of their death, which we are assured by Father Dablon Father Marquette did, but several other occurrences have been circumstantially related that seem to have been supernatural in their character.

After the death of the devout priest, Father Dablon tells us that:

When it became a question of embarking, to proceed on their journey, one of the two, who for some days had been so heartsick with sorrow, and so greatly prostrated with an internal malady, that he could no longer eat or breathe except with difficulty, bethought himself while the other was making all preparations for embarking, to visit the grave of the good father, and ask his intercession with the glorious Virgin, as he had promised, not doubting in the least that he was in Heaven. He fell, then, upon his knees, and made a short prayer, and having reverently taken some earth from the tomb, he pressed it to his breast. Immediately his sickness abated, and his sorrow was changed into a joy which did not forsake him during the remainder of his journey.¹⁴

Again Father Dablon says:

Not to mention more than this instance, a young girl aged 19 or 20 years, whom the late father had instructed, and who had been baptized in the past year, fell sick, and applied to Father Nouvel to be bled and to take certain remedies. The father prescribed to her, as sole medicine, to come for three days and say a *pater* and three *Ave's* at the tomb of Father Marquette. She did so, and before the 3rd day was cured, without bleeding or any other remedies.¹⁵

There was a story told that the river, on the bank of which Father Marquette was buried in the first instance, had changed its course as if to avoid washing away his remains, the tendency theretofore having been to eat into the shore in which the grave had been dug. To ascertain the facts of this report, Father Charlevoix, when he visited the place of Marquette's burial in 1721, made an investigation and gives the following account:

On the 3rd [of ———] I entered the river of Father Marquette in order to examine whether what I had been told of it was true. This is at first entering it no more than a brook, but fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan, one would imagine that a great hummock which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through, and on their right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket-shot, afterwards all of a sudden it rises to a very great height. It had actually been represented to me as such, and on that head, the following is the constant tradition of all our travelers and what ancient missionaries have told me.

¹⁴ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, p. 201.

¹⁵ *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LIX, p. 205.

Father Jacque. Marquette, a native of Laon in Picardy, where his family still maintains a distinguished rank, was one of the most illustrious missionaries of New France. This person traveled over almost all the countries in it, and made several important discoveries, the last of which was that of the Mississippi, which he entered with the Sieur Joliet in 1673. Two years after this discovery, on account of which he has published, as he was going from Chicago, which is at the bottom of Lake Michigan, to Michilimackinac, he entered on the 18th day of May, 1675, the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground, which as I have already taken notice, you leave on the right hand as you enter. Here he erected his altar and said Mass. He went afterwards to a small distance in order to render thanks, and begged the two men that conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour. This time having past they went to seek him, and were surprised to find him dead; they called to mind, however, that on entering the river he had let drop an expression that he should end his days at this place.

However, as it was too far to carry his body from thence to Michilimackinac, they buried him near the bank of the river which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape, the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened itself a new passage. The year following, one of the persons who had paid the last offices to this servant of God, returned to the place where they had buried him, took what remained of him and carried it to Michilimackinac. I have not been able to learn, or else I have forgot the name this river formerly bore; but at this day the Indians always call it the river of the black robe, for thus the Indians term the Jesuits. They call the secular clergy *White-bands* as they do the Recollects *Grey-gowns*. The French call this river Father Marquette's river, and never fail to call upon him when they are in any danger on Lake Michigan. Several of them have affirmed that they believed themselves indebted to his intercession for having escaped very great dangers.¹⁶

MARQUETTE'S SUCCESSORS

"A successor to the late Father Marquette was needed," says Father Dablon, "who should be no less zealous than he. To fill his place Father Claude Allouez was chosen, who had labored, the leader in all our missions to the Outaouahs [Ottawas] with untiring courage. He was engaged at the time in that of St. Francois Xavier in the Bay Des Paunts [Green Bay], and was soon ready to set out."¹⁷

Father Allouez wrote a description of his journey, a part of which was made in an extraordinary way. The lake being frozen the canoe was placed on the ice and a sail rigged which "made it go as on the water." When the breeze died down the canoe was drawn along with ropes. What the Allouez said with reference to the Illinois country is of especial interest:

¹⁶ Charlevoix's *Voyages*, pp. 95-97.

¹⁷ Thwaites, *Jesuit Relations*, LX, p. 149.

After voyaging 76 leagues over the lake of Saint Joseph, we at length entered the river which leads to the Illinois. I met there 80 savages of the country, by whom I was welcomed in a very hospitable manner. The Captain came about 30 steps to meet me, carrying in one hand a firebrand and in the other a Calumet adorned with feathers. Approaching me, he placed it in my mouth and himself lighted the tobacco, which obliged me to make pretense of smoking it. Then he made me come into his cabin, and having given me the place of honor, he spoke to me as follows:

“My Father, have pity on me; suffer me to return with thee, to bear thee company and take thee into my village. The meeting I have had today with thee will prove fatal to me if I do not use it to my advantage. Thou bearest to us the gospel and the prayer. If I lose the opportunity of listening to thee, I shall be punished by the loss of my nephews, whom thou seest in so great number; without doubt, they will be defeated by our enemies. Let us embark, then, in company, that I may profit by thy coming into our land.” That said, he set out at the same time as ourselves, and shortly after we arrived at his abode.

FATHER ALLOUEZ ARRIVES AT THE MISSION

Notwithstanding all the efforts that we made to hasten our journey, it was not until the 27th of April that I was able to arrive at Kaskaskia, the great village of the Illinois. I entered at once, the cabin in which Father Marquette had lodged; and, the old men being assembled there with the entire population, I made known the reason for which I had come to them,—namely, to preach to them the true God, living and immortal, and his only son Jesus Christ. They listened very attentively to my whole discourse and thanked me for the trouble that I was taking for their salvation.

I found this village largely increased since a year ago. Formerly, it was composed of but one nation, that of the Kaskaskia; at the present time, there are eight tribes in it, the first having summoned the others who inhabited the neighborhood of the river Mississippi. One cannot well satisfy himself as to the number of people who compose that village. They are housed in 351 cabins, which are easily counted, as most of them are situated upon the bank of the river.

The spot which they have chosen for their abode is situated in latitude 40 degrees 41 minutes. On one side of it is a long stretch of prairie, and on the other a multitude of swamps, which are (render the atmosphere) unhealthy and often covered with fog,—giving rise to much sickness, and to loud and frequent peals of thunder; they delight, however, in this location, as they can easily espy from it their enemies.

PLANTING THE CROSS

Shortly after his arrival, on May 3, 1677, the “Feast of the Holy Cross,” Father Allouez “erected in the midst of the town a cross thirty-five feet high, chanting the *Vexilla Regis*, in the presence of a great number of Illinois of all tribes.”

This demonstration was typical of the practice of the missionaries in establishing a mission. The “Way of the Cross” that eventually

stretched from the first French settlement at Port Royal (now Annapolis, Nova Scotia) all the way up the St. Lawrence, around the Great Lakes and down the Illinois and Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico was similarly established.

The "Feast of the Holy Cross" was a favorite date for such ceremonies and it is interesting to know the tradition connected with this Feast day.

About the end of the reign of the emperor Phocas, Chosroes, the king of the Persians, invaded Egypt and Africa. He then took possession of Jerusalem; and after massacring there many thousand Christians, he carried away into Persia the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, which Helena had placed upon Mount Calvary. Phocas was succeeded in the empire by Heraclius, who, after enduring many losses and misfortunes in the course of the war, sued for peace, but was unable to obtain it even upon disadvantageous terms, so elated was Chosroes by victories. In this perilous situation he applied himself to prayer and fasting, and earnestly implored God's assistance. Then, admonished from heaven, he raised an army, marched against the enemy, and defeated three of Chosroes' generals with their armies.

Subdued by these disasters, Chosroes took flight; and, when about to cross the river Tigris, named his son Medarses his associate in the kingdom. But his eldest son Siroes, bitterly resenting this insult, plotted the murder of his father. He soon afterwards overtook them in flight, and put them both to death. Siroes then had himself recognized as king by Heraclius, on certain conditions, the first of which was to restore the Cross of our Lord. Thus fourteen years after it had fallen into the hands of the Persians, the cross was recovered; and on his return to Jerusalem, Heraclius, with great pomp, bore it back on his own shoulders to the mountain whither our Saviour had carried it.

This event was signalized by a remarkable miracle. Heraclius, attired as he was in robes adorned with gold and precious stones, was forced to stand still at the gate which led to Mount Calvary. The more he endeavored to advance, the more he seemed fixed to the spot. Heraclius himself and all the people were astonished; but Zacharias, the bishop of Jerusalem, said: "Consider, O Emperor, how little thou imitatest the poverty and humility of Jesus Christ by carrying the Cross clad in triumphal robes." Heraclius thereupon laid aside his magnificent apparel, and barefoot, clothed in mean attire, he easily completed the rest of the way, and replaced the cross in the same place on Mount Calvary, whence it had been carried off by the Persians. From this event, the feast of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross,

which was celebrated yearly on this day, gained fresh lustre, in memory of the Cross being replaced by Heraclius on the spot where it had first been set up for our Saviour.

At different times and places this Feast was celebrated on the 14th of September.¹⁸

Continuing his relation Father Allouez says:

As I had but a short time to remain here,—having only come to acquire the information necessary for the establishment of a complete mission,—I immediately applied myself to give all the instruction I could to these eight different nations, to whom, by the grace of God, I made myself sufficiently understood. I went, for that purpose, into the cabin of the Chief of the nation that I wished to instruct; and, there making ready a small altar, using the ornaments of my portable chapel, I exposed the Crucifix; when they had looked at it, I explained to them the mysteries of our holy faith. I could not have desired a larger audience or closer attention. They carried to me their smaller children to be baptized, and brought me the older ones to be instructed. They themselves repeated all the prayers that I taught them. In a word, after I had done the same for all the nations, *I had recognized, as a result, the same number of peoples to whom nothing more remained* (I saw that nothing was lacking to all these peoples) save careful cultivation, for them to become good Christians. This is what we hope hereafter to effect at leisure.

* * *

The time for my departure having come, I bade adieu to these peoples, and left them eagerly anticipating my return as soon as possible—an expectation all the more willingly encouraged by me, inasmuch as on the one hand I have great reason for thanking God for the little crosses of which, in this voyage, he granted me a share; and because on the other I see the mission quite ready, and very promising. Doubtless, the devil will oppose himself to it, and perhaps will profit by the war which the Iroquois intend to make against the Illinois. I pray our Lord to avert it, lest beginnings as glorious may be entirely destroyed.

FATHER ALLOUEZ KNOWN TO THE ILLINOIS

Father Allouez was no stranger to the Illinois. They had sat at his feet and listened to his eloquence before. His report to his superior concerning these savages written from the Mission of St. Francois Xavier is interesting:

The church that we have in this Mission summons from a very great distance the savages who dwell beyond the Mississippi, to come and live among the Mascoutens; it calls the Illinois from a still greater distance to come and settle in their former country, near the lake that bears their name, six days' journey from the Mascoutens.

Those who are called the Kaskaskias have already been here for a year or two, as they had promised Father Dablon when I was his companion in the Mission to the Miamis.

¹⁸ See *Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. IV, p. 532.

The other Illinois, called Peorias, are gradually coming here to settle, in the conviction that the house of God will protect them, and keep them safer than they formerly were. Accordingly, all the fine missions already begun in these barbarous countries are no less important through the hope of the fruits they promise, than through the multitude of tribes to whom the Gospel is preached there.

I have already visited the Kaskaskias, and have baptized many of their children; and I have borne the first words of the Faith to the Peorialeas, who dwell among the Miamis, and they have listened to me with much docility. They have even begun to pray, and have promised me to come and dwell nearer to us to have the advantage of being instructed at leisure.¹⁹

FATHER ALLOUEZ CONTINUES THE MISSION

“In 1679 Allouez revisited the mission, and remained until the approach of La Salle’s expedition of that year, when he withdrew to the north. In 1684 he again repaired to the Illinois accompanied by M. Durantaye, who then commanded at Mackinac. He was there sick in 1687, when the Cavalier Joutel party reached Fort St. Louis from Texas, but they left shortly after, on hearing that La Salle was still alive. Although chiefly a missionary to the Miamis, Allouez still clung to his Illinois mission, which he probably visited once more in 1689. He died at Fort Miami in 1690.”²⁰

The visits mentioned by Wallace are such only as have been found expressly recorded. The veteran missionary was, we are justified in believing, constantly on the move among his savage congregations at the Miamis and all along the Illinois River until the time of his death.

(To Be Continued)

Chicago, Illinois.

JOSEPH J. THOMPSON, LL. D.

¹⁹ Allouez in Thwaites *Jesuit Relations*, Vol. LVIII, pp. 265-67.

²⁰ Wallace, *History of Illinois and Louisiana*, p. 198.

THE EMERGENCE OF THE MISSOURI VALLEY INTO HISTORY

Herewith is a hitherto unpublished sketch-map of the Mississippi basin to illustrate a *Relation* based upon two letters (February 28 and March 4, 1700) of the famous pathfinder, Henri de Tonty. Of the two copies of the croquis listed by HARRISSE, *Notes sur la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, p. 215, one, neatly executed in colors, is in the Bibliotheque Nationale, Paris (Mss. Français, 9097, f. 107). Though crudely made and showing little if any advance in acquaintance with the Missouri country over the Marquette and Jolliet maps of a quarter of a century before, the sketch has points of interest to students of early Western cartography. Thus, the Rocky Mountains are indicated while the historic Tamaroa Mission is placed on the right bank of the Mississippi in the locality of St. Louis. The accompanying *Relation*, however, seems to state (which was the fact), that the Mission stood on the left bank. Possibly the cartographer, availing himself of information of later date than the de Tonti letters, wished to indicate the French-Indian-Jesuit settlement actually laid out in the fall of 1700 on or very close to the site of present-day St. Louis. To read the descriptive title, reverse the map. For photostat copies of the map and accompanying *Relation* the writer is indebted to the courtesy of M. Edmond Buron, Paris, and Dr. Walter Doughty, Director of the Dominion Archives, Ottawa, Canada.

I

It is now thirty-three years since Professor Henry Jackson Turner in a paper read at the ninth annual meeting of the American Historical Association, Chicago, 1893, first announced his now famous thesis that the most significant factor in the historical development of the United States has been "the advancing frontier." Having met with widespread and sometimes enthusiastic favor among scholars and workers in the field of American history, the thesis is now being challenged as of exaggerated importance, out of harmony with a mass of facts and inadequate as a key to the interpretation of certain major phenomena in our national history. Meantime, however, it has unquestionably proved a stimulating and even inspiring conception and much excellent history has come to be written around it. For one thing, it has served to direct attention to the Trans-Mississippi West as the section of the country more particularly identified with the story of the American frontier. Very largely through its influence the West has generally met with adequate treatment if not with an altogether generous and outstanding measure of attention in the recent literature of American history. Set out in striking relief in the Turner thesis, the Old Frontier, always a thing of mystery and charm in the popular mind, where it goes along with such stirring

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one-time realities as the Great Plains, Indian warfare and the Covered Wagon, took on added significance as the secrets of it stood revealed in numerous studies of the special student and researcher.

It is with this ever-alluring subject of the Trans-Mississippi West that the present paper purposes to deal, having for its special aim to trace the earliest recorded attempts at exploration and missionary enterprise up the Valley of the Missouri. The source-material drawn upon is partly archival and partly printed, the topic in its double aspect not being one, as far as the writer is aware, which has hitherto engaged the attention of students of Western history.¹ Space-limitations will necessitate a certain sketchiness of treatment, but it is hoped that some unfamiliar and probably not uninteresting history will be set before the reader.

Jean Nicolet, the first white man to reach Wisconsin (1634), brought back from his adventure some fascinating hearsay he had picked up concerning the wonderful country that lay to the West beyond the limits of his trek. But the idea of exploring this unknown territory, so Henri Harrisse declares, was first given expression to by the Jesuit missionaries of New France.² "It would be a noble undertaking," said the *Relation* of 1640, "to go and explore these countries."³ Twenty-six years later (1666) Claude Allouez, outstanding member of the Jesuit group, gave to the world the earliest notice by name of "*la grande rivière nommée Messipi*."⁴ Though a century and a third had elapsed since Coronado's eventful march across the plains of the Southwest to shadowy Quivira, the memory of it was still stirring men's imaginations and exciting their cupidity. So it was that when Louis Jolliet and Jacques Marquette set out in 1673 on their historic quest of the Mississippi there lay behind the enterprise the hopes of its temporal promoters that a way would thus be opened up to the South Sea, the Pacific Ocean of today, or

¹ In the preparation of this paper the writer has drawn upon notes taken in personal research in the *Archives Coloniales*, Paris, in the summer of 1925, supplemented by subsequent study in the mass of copied material from the same Archives to be found in the Illinois Historical Survey, University of Illinois. The Ayer Collection of material on Western history in the Newberry Library, Chicago, and the Archives of Laval University, Quebec, made accessible to the writer through the kindness of the scholarly archivist, the Right Rev. Amedée Gosselin, have also furnished pertinent data. The printed sources utilized are for the most part indicated in the foot-notes.

² Henri Harrisse, *Notes sur la Cartographie de la Nouvelle France*, Paris, 1872, p. 121.

³ *Jesuit Relations* (Thwaites ed.) 18:237.

⁴ *Id.*, 51:53.

even to the alluring gold mines of Quivira.⁵ If such were the secular aims of the expedition, its spiritual objective, as conceived by Marquette, was the winning of new lands to the Cross of Christ. Having entered the Mississippi from the Wisconsin, June 17, 1673, the two explorers found themselves somewhere about the following July 4, at the mouth of the Missouri. The date is a significant one, for it marks the discovery of the great waterway of the Trans-Mississippi West. It is so usual to think of Jolliet and Marquette as discoverers of the Mississippi that we lose sight of the almost equally important fact that they are likewise discoverers of the Missouri. In his *Journal* Marquette penned the earliest notice we possess of the noble stream and its far-flung valley. The passage is a notable one in its union of religious fervor, graphic first-hand description and shrewd geographical conjecture.

While conversing about these monsters, sailing quietly in clear and calm water, we heard the noise of a rapid, in which we were about to run. I have seen nothing more dreadful. An accumulation of large and entire trees, branches and floating islands, was issuing from the mouth of the river Pekitanoui, with such impetuosity that we could not without great danger risk passing through it. So great was the agitation that the water was very muddy and could not become clear.

Pekitanoui is a river of considerable size, coming from the Northwest, from a great Distance; and it discharges into the Missisipi. There are many Villages of savages along this river, and I hope by its means to discover the vermilion or California Sea [Gulf of California].

Judging from the Direction of the course of the Missisipi, if it continue the same way, we think that it discharges into the Mexican gulf. It would be a great advantage to find the river leading to the southern sea, toward California: and as I have said, this is what I hope to do by means of the Pekitanoui, according to the reports made to me by the savages.

Probably the Illinois, whom Marquette was dependent on for his data, were not themselves clearly informed as to the course of the Upper Missouri. Certainly the distances they gave him were strangely underestimated. And yet the missionary had grasped with substantial correctness a route, whether practical or not, to the Pacific, that, namely, by the Missouri, Platte and Colorado rivers, with a portage between the two last named. The last leg of the route was a river

which flows towards the West, where it falls into the sea. I have hardly any doubt that it is the vermilion sea, and I do not despair of discovering it some day, if God grants me the grace and the health to do so, in order that I may preach the Gospel to all the peoples of this new world who have so long groveled in the darkness of infidelity.⁶

⁵ Id., 59:87.

Though Marquette was never to ascend the Missouri, he had the distinction with Jolliet of first putting the Trans-Mississippi West in a literal sense "on the map." The maps of the two explorers indicate the Missouri though without naming it, these being the earliest appearances of that river in cartography. Moreover, the maps indicate by name many of the well-known Western Indian tribes of later history, locating them in positions corresponding more or less to those which they occupied when white men first made their acquaintance. Thus the holographic Marquette map of 1673-74 names in order from East to West the Schage (Osage), Semessrit (Missouri), Kansa and Paniassa (Wichita), and in the same order on a line further north, the Otonanta (Oto), Pana (Pawnee), Maha (Omaha), the Pahstet (Iowa). In the Thevenot Marquette map of 1681 we have the Indian tribe registered as Smisouri, the exact present-day orthography of the name except for the initial S (ou). Jolliet's map of 1674, finely executed as being the work of a skilled cartographer, presents practically the same series of Western Indian tribes as is found in the Marquette maps. To these two distinguished Frenchmen belongs, accordingly, the distinction of having first given a definite place in cartography to the great stretch of United States territory west of the Mississippi.⁷

II

Nine years had passed since the epoch-making expedition of Jolliet and Marquette when, on February 14, 1682, Robert Cavelier de la Salle, in his historic descent of the Mississippi to the Gulf of Mexico, reached the mouth of the Missouri. The Indians had put him in possession of much interesting information as to the mysterious country which it drained. He catalogues some of the native tribes settled in the interior, places the *nation des Pana* or Pawnee at 200 leagues to the West, and estimates the navigable course of the *rivière des Missourites* at more than 400 leagues or approximately 1000 English miles. He suggests the idea, often to be repeated after him, that

⁶ Id., 59:141, 143. According to Gabriel Marest, S.J. (1712), Pekitanoui signifies "muddy water." Tonty translates Missouri "abundant in people." The length of the Missouri from Three Forks, Montana, to its mouth is 2547 miles. Chappell, *A History of the Missouri River in Kansas Historical Collection*, 9:237.

⁷ Jolliet's letter to Frontenac inscribed as a cartouche on his map of 1674 indicates a western tributary of the Mississippi, evidently the Missouri, which affords a passage to the Vermilion Sea. Further, he visits an Indian village which is only five days distant from a nation, *qui a commerce avec ceux de la Californie*. Ernest Gagnon, *Louis Jolliet*, Quebec, 1902, p. 86.

perhaps the Missouri is to be considered the main stream and the Upper Mississippi only a tributary of the same, and this on account of "its depth, its breadth, the volume of its waters, the great number of nations that dwell along it, and the excellence of the country which it waters."⁸

Other members of de la Salle's party, as his nephew, Nicholas de la Salle, his lieutenant, Henri de Tonty and his chaplain, the Recollect, Father Zenobius Membré, also put on record data concerning the mighty river which they passed on their right a few leagues below the Illinois.

It is just as large [notes Membré] as the river Colbert [Mississippi] into which it empties, and which is so disturbed by it that from the mouth of this river the water is hardly drinkable. The Indians assured us that this river is formed by many others and that they ascend it for ten or twelve days to a mountain where they have their source; and that beyond this mountain is the sea where great ships are seen; that it [the Missouri] is peopled by a great number of large villages, of several different nations; that there are lands and prairies and great cattle and beaver hunting.⁹

Baron Lahontan, if one can credit his account, entered the Missouri at its mouth under an escort of Outagami or Fox Indians, December 17, 1688, going upstream as far as the Osage. He visited the Missouri villages, one of which his Fox friends would have had him set fire to, after killing the inhabitants. "Had I been of the same mind with the Outagamies, we had done noble exploits in this place."¹⁰ As it was, the redoubtable Baron before quitting the Missouri did give one of their villages to the flames. On Christmas Day, 1688, after spending eight days on the Missouri river, he passed from its turbid waters into the Mississippi. This chapter of Lahontan's alleged adventures is generally thought to be made of whole cloth.¹¹ "*Il n'a jamais eu lieu,*" writes summarily his latest critic, Baron de Villiers.¹² What Lahontan wrote down concerning the "Long River," its weirdly named Indian tribes and the map of the Far West which one of them kindly traced for him on a deer-skin, is surely fantastic enough. The map accompanying the London, 1703, edition of his travels shows the

⁸ Margry, *Découvertes et établissements des Français, etc.*, 2:180.

⁹ Le Clerq, *First Establishment of the Faith in New France*, New York, 1881, 2:164.

¹⁰ Lahontan, *New Voyages to North America*, London, 1703, 1:131.

¹¹ However, Houck in his standard *History of Missouri* (Chicago, 1908, 1:139) accepts as substantially true Lahontan's narrative of his experiences on the Missouri.

¹² Baron Marc de Villiers, *La Découverte du Missouri et l'Histoire du Fort d'Orléans (1673-1728)*, Paris, 1925, p. 28.

section contributed by the Indians with the legend, "A map drawn upon stag-skins by ye Guacsitaires who gave me to know ye Latitudes of all ye places marked in it by pointing to ye respective places of ye heavens the one or t'other corresponded to." At the same time the cautious de L'Isle, leading French cartographer of the period, in his map of identical date, 1703, takes account of Lahontan's alleged discoveries.¹³

Setting aside Lahontan's exploration of the Lower Missouri as at least problematical, one finds on record an even earlier visit of white men to the region named. La Salle vouches for the fact that in 1680 or '81 two French *coureurs de bois* were captured on the Mississippi by Missouri Indians and taken off to their village.¹⁴ This would seem to be the earliest recorded presence of white men on the Missouri. Later, in the last decade of the seventeenth century, relations were established between the Jesuit missionary-post of Kaskaskia on the Illinois River and some of the Indian tribes west of the Mississippi. In May, 1693, a party made up of two French traders and some Kaskaskia Indians visited the Missouri and Osage villages to cement an alliance with these tribes. Father Gravier would gladly have joined the party, only he did not anticipate a kindly reception from these strange tribes where there were libertines "who do not love the Missionary's presence."

I would willingly have performed that journey to see for myself whether anything could be done there fore the glory of God among the Tamaroua and Kaoukia who are Illinois; and to sound the Missouri and Osages in order to ascertain what could be obtained from them in regard to Christianity—for I have no doubt that I would have found many dying children and adults to baptize.

The traders returned to Kaskaskia, June 20, accompanied by two chiefs, one from each village, and "some elders and women." "The Osages and Missouris," observed Father Gravier apropos of the occasion, "do not appear to be as quick-witted as the Illinois; their language does not seem very difficult. The former do not open their lips, and the latter speak more from the throat than they."¹⁵

The visit of these Western tribes to the Illinois being repeated in succeeding years, much detailed information concerning the Missouri country was picked up by the missionaries and military authorities. An unpublished memoir, apparently of Desliettes, commandant of

¹³ A copy of this map is in the Margry collection of Ms. maps in the Newberry Library, Chicago.

¹⁴ Margry, *op. cit.*, 2:325.

¹⁵ *Jesuit Relation*, 64:161, 169.

the Illinois post in Tonty's absence in Canada (1691), supplies some interesting data. After observing that when the Illinois go to war with the Pawnees or Akansas, "who are established on the river of the Missouri, almost all the village marches," he continues:

Several savages of the nations that live there, who often come to trade among the Illinois, have assured me that it [the Missouri] comes from a great lake which has still another outlet on the other side, which would lead me to believe from their report that it falls into the Western Sea. The Panis [Pawnees] and Paniassay [Wichita], who live in the territory and the neighborhood of this river, have relations with the Spaniards from whom they get horses of which they make use sometimes to pursue the buffalo in the hunt. . . . The savages of whom I have spoken, and who come to trade among the Illinois are the Oossages [Osage] and Missourita [Missouri], who not long ago had war with them and who, aside from their need of hatchets, knives and awls and other things are very glad to keep on the good side of this nation which is much more warlike than theirs. They never fail every year to come among them and to bring the calumet, which is the symbol of peace among all the nations of the south.¹⁶

From his Kaskaskia mission on the Illinois Father Gabriel Marest, S. J., dispatched, July 10, 1700, to d'Iberville, founder of Biloxi and Mobile, all the information he was able to muster on the Valley of the Missouri.

As to the Missouri, it is a very beautiful and large-sized river extending as far as the Mississippi. It is entirely covered with different nations of Indians. It is exceedingly rapid, gives the Mississippi its very great swiftness and spoils all its waters. Its real name is the Pekitanoui and the French call it the Missouri because this people is the first you meet there. Then come the Arkansas [Kansa], who are on a little river of their own name. Then the Pana, Paniassa or rather Panis [Pawnee]. These nations are very numerous and by way of their river, which discharges into the Pekitanoui, they carry on commerce with the Spaniards. Our warriors have brought us horses and bridles, which these nations took from the Spaniards, and Rouensa at present has one of them. However, it seems to me it was La Chenais who came from that country with the Indians, that made him a present of this horse.

¹⁶ The Desliettes memoir on the Illinois country (signed by a certain De Gannes) is found in a volume of transcripts (apparently from French government archives) bearing on the front cover the legend, *A la substitution du Valdec Proche Soleure en Suisse* 1725. This is one of a series of five similarly richly bound volumes of unknown provenance containing much unpublished material on American history of the French period. The series is at present in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago. The De Gannes memoir, though dated October 20, 1721, was probably written at an earlier date, as the writer refers to the Kaskaskia Indians as still living on the Illinois River, from which they moved in 1700. The extract in the text is cited from the ms. translation in the Newberry Library.

Father Marest then goes on to mention the river of the Autantas (Oto) as also that of the Paouté and Aiouais (Iowa) but he sends no particulars about them, as neither he nor any Frenchman had ever been upon them. However, as to the Pekitanoui, so he assures d'Iberville, "I can tell you that it is the country of the beaver."¹⁷

III

The March of 1699 saw the establishment of the Mission of the Holy Family of the Tamaroa, the future Cahokia, on the east bank of the Mississippi, directly opposite the site on which the city of St. Louis was to rise in later years. Its founders were the so-called Seminary priests of Quebec, or the Fathers of the Society of Foreign Missions. In the autumn of the following year, 1700, the Kaskaskia Indians, having abandoned their village on the Illinois River, settled on the west bank of the Mississippi River a few miles below Cahokia, immediately at or very close to the mouth of the river subsequently known as the Des Peres. Here they were joined by their Jesuit pastors and a number of French from Cahokia, the resulting settlement being, apart from the previously existing Indian villages, the earliest founded on the west side of the Mississippi.¹⁸ The dawn of the eighteenth century consequently saw two zealous missionary bodies, the Society of Jesus and the Society of Foreign Missions, estab-

¹⁷ Marest's letter is cited in Villiers *op. cit.*, pp. 33-34, but with no indication of its provenance. Upon it, in the opinion of Villiers, de L'Isle relied for data concerning the Missouri in his beautiful unpublished map (1702) of the Mississippi Valley, copies of which are in the Library of Congress and that of the St. Louis University. The La Chesnaie (Chenaye) mentioned by Marest is apparently the *coureur de bois* domiciled for some time with the Iowa Indians in the last decade of the seventeenth century. One may qualify his as the earliest known-by-name white resident of the Missouri Valley. Dated the same year (1700) as Marest's letter is an unpublished "Relation" of Tonty with accompanying croquis or sketch-map containing whatever information about the Missouri the explorer was able at that time to command. The croquis indicates that river as rising in a mountain-range (Rocky Mountains). A reproduction of Tonty's Relation and croquis is in the St. Louis University Library. Cf. also Harris, *op. cit.*, p. 215. Twenty-one years later (1721), Father Charlevoix was to hear from a Missouri woman whom he met at Kaskaskia confirmation of what the Sioux had told him, "that the Missouri rises out of some naked mountains, very high, behind which there is a great river which probably rises from them also and which runs to the West." Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, etc. Dublin, 1766, 2:168.

¹⁸ The existence of this interesting settlement, previously known only as a matter of vague tradition, has been satisfactorily established on a basis of contemporary documentary evidence by Rev. Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., in the *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, 1:151-156.

lished in neighboring stations, each with hopes, if not with definite plans, for the evangelization of the vast territory that lay toward the setting sun. The Jesuit, Father Limoges, arriving at Cahokia, March 9, 1700, made known to the Seminary priest, Father St. Cosme, his desire to plant the cross among the tribes of the Missouri River, especially the Osage.¹⁹ On the other hand, the Seminary clergymen were hoping to venture into the same field. Father Bergier, St. Cosme's successor at Cahokia, was writing in May, 1702:

The two principal missions which I should like to take in hand, if there were men and money, are the Cancez [Kansa] and the Panimahas [Loups] along the river of the Missouris. The Ozages are not so considerable and the Missouris are almost reduced to nothing.²⁰

In fact, the Seminary of Quebec had asked and obtained from Bishop St. Vallier by letters-patent dated June 4, 1698, a grant of the Tamaroa Missions as a necessary key to the entire Valley of the Missouri.

The river of the Missouris on which are the nation of the Panis and others which had been given to the said Seminary being only six leagues from the nation called the Tamarois, it was judged of the utmost consequence in order to succeed in this enterprise that we ask it [the Tamarois mission] from the Bishop of Quebec.²¹

At Paris, in 1700, the Superiors of the Society of Foreign Missions were insisting on the retention of the Tamarois post as a convenient point of contact "with the missions of the Missouris and the Aksas (Kansas?) which we prefer to others as being farthest from the French and consequently more promising in fruit, although the expenses of the same will be much greater."²² In the event, resident missionary work among the Missouri Valley tribes was not to be taken up by the Seminary clergymen, while nearly a century and a half was to pass before the Society of Jesus actually began to cultivate this field.

While the Seminary priests and Jesuits were thus looking wistfully towards the West and its measureless harvest of human souls ready to be gathered in, the earliest definitely recorded expeditions of

¹⁹ St. Cosme à Monseigneur (de Quebec), March, 1700. Laval University Archives.

²⁰ Bergier à, May 4, 1702. Laval University Archives.

²¹ *Mémoire au sujet de la Mission des Tamarois*. Laval Transcripts, pp. 32-34. Illinois Historical Survey.

²² *Mémoire touchant la Mission des Tamarois*, 1700. Laval Transcripts, p. 30. Illinois Historical Survey.

exploration, trade or military occupation began to push up the Missouri River. To anticipate the Spaniards who were advancing energetically from the Southwest towards the Missouri and to blaze a trail to the far-famed metal mines of New Mexico were the motives behind most of these ventures into the Western wilderness.

D'Iberville, Governor of the Louisiana colony, announced from La Rochelle, February 15, 1703, that "twenty Canadians left from the Tamaroas to discover New Mexico, trade in piasters (dollars) and see what are the mines of which the Indians spoke to them."²³

One or other detail of their expedition is supplied by Father Bergier, the Tamaroa pastor, according to whom seventeen Frenchmen left his village in March, 1702, to ascend the Missouri two hundred leagues, there to build a fort between the Pawnees and the Iowa, a locality somewhere along the Iowa-Nebraska state-line. They desired to take a missionary with them, but none was available. In the course of the expedition they were attacked by Indians and had to fortify themselves on an island in the river.²⁴ In all probability they returned to the Tamaroa unharmed, Father Bergier saying nothing as to the final issue of the adventure. This would appear to be the first regularly organized expedition of white men known to have gone up the Missouri.

Four or five years later, 1706 or 1707, Derbanne, subsequently commandant at Natchitoches, was on the Missouri, with a party of men making a record for up-river navigation of that river by the French, as he wrote in a report from the above-named for dated June 12, 1724.

I should gladly speak to you of the Missouri which I entered nearly 18 years ago [1706]. We ascended nearly 400 leagues from its mouth. These are the first of the French to have been so far into the interior.

Derbanne met with traces of the Spaniards, such as *morceaux des chasubles* and *chevaux de mulets*, which the Indians must have plundered from the Padres. Derbanne adds that certain people profited from his discovery. "It is true that New Mexico is not far from the Missouri; but there is no silver in New Mexico, according to what the Spaniards say."²⁵

²³ Margry, 6:180.

²⁴ Bergier correspondence. Laval University Archives.

²⁵ *Rélation du Poste de Natchitoches: Mémoire signé Derbanne aux Natchitoches 12 Juin 1724*. This document (p. 458) is contained in a volume of transcripts bearing the general title *Mémoires de l'Améri(que) et opinion Des ses Habitans*, the volume being one of the series referred to in note 17.

Sometime prior to 1705 one Laurain had been up the Missouri, bringing back a confused account of its meanderings and in 1706 Bienville, future founder of New Orleans, reported that a couple of Canadians had spent two years going from one village to another on the same river. In 1708 Bienville was assured by a Canadian named Boudon that numerous tin mines could be found along the Missouri. Two years later the ensign Darac with two soldiers was despatched by Bienville to the Missouri, ostensibly to make presents to the Indians, but actually to trade in peltries and slaves, so at least it was reported to Paris.²⁶ But all those initial adventures on the Missouri were without any real significance. The serious and systematic exploration of the great waterway, as far as any record of it has survived in history, was to begin with Etienne Veniard de Bourgmond.

IV

All the glamour of the old frontier hangs about the name of the Sieur de Bourgmond. He was commandant in 1706 at Detroit, where he skilfully repulsed a Fox attack; but he subsequently deserted, being, however, pardoned by Cadillac and reinstated in the service. In 1712 he first made the acquaintance of the Missouri Indians, who had come to the relief of Du Buisson, besieged at Detroit, whom he accompanied on their return to the West. Here he became the idol of the Indian tribes up and down the Missouri. In 1714 he navigated the river as far as the Platte, keeping an accurate log of the voyage, which the Baron de Villiers has only recently brought to light. Another Bourgmond document, a description of the Missouri basin embodying the results of the explorer's later voyages, which apparently brought him as far north as the Dakotas, has also been published by the same indefatigable French researcher.²⁷ On August 11, 1720, at the confluence of the rivers Platte and Loup in the present Nebraska took place the massacre at the hands of the Loup and Oto Indians of the so-called Spanish caravan, a military party of sixty trespassing within the limits of French Louisiana.²⁸ One of the chaplains and the soldier, Tamaris, were the only members of the party to get back

²⁶ Villiers, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

²⁷ These two important documents for early Missouri history both from the Archives Hydrographiques are printed for the first time by Villiers in his above-mentioned published study.

²⁸ Baron de Villiers' account of the massacre in the *Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris*, 13:239-250 has appeared in translation in the *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, 4:1.

to New Mexico. The episode awakened France to the necessity of a military occupation of the Missouri, and this Bourgmond was commissioned to undertake. His instructions were to build a fort, ingratiate himself with all the river-tribes, and especially make an alliance with the Padoucas or Comanches as a buffer against the Spaniards. All these objects he successfully accomplished. Having arrived at the Missouri village with a party of some forty Frenchmen November 9, 1723, he erected his fort, to be known as Fort Orleans, on the opposite or north bank of the river in Carroll County, Missouri. The fort was evacuated apparently in 1728, there being no evidence to show that its garrison was massacred by the Indians, as was at one time believed.²⁹

With Bourgmond at Fort Orleans in the capacity of chaplain was a Seminary missionary, Father Jean Baptiste Mercier, pioneer resident priest of the Missouri, the *appartement séparé pour servir l'église*, which the commandant built for him being the earliest known house of worship erected in the valley of the great river. The *Te Deum* chanted by Mercier at the fort, November 5, 1724, on Bourgmond's return from his adventurous march across the Kansas plains was a unique religious ceremony in the history of the West. He had come down from Canada in 1718, being stationed at Cahokia until he accompanied Bourgmond in 1723 up the Missouri. Father Charlevoix carried away pleasant recollections of a visit paid to him at Cahokia in 1721:

I passed the Night in the House of the Missionaries, which are two Ecclesiastics of the Seminary of Quebec, formerly my Disciples, but who might be now my Masters. The elder of the two [Thaumur de la Source] was absent, I found the younger [Mercier] such as he had been reported to me, severe to himself, full of charity for others and making Virtue amiable in his own person. But he has so little Health that I think he cannot long support the Way of Life, which they are obliged to lead in these Missions.³⁰

Father Mercier's five years at Cahokia had brought him a ready acquaintance with the Illinois language and in a contemporary document he appears as interpreter in a dispute at Fort Orleans between

²⁹ The hitherto generally accepted belief that Fort Orleans was built on an island in the Missouri (see, *e. g.*, map in Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, Paris, 1758, 1:138) is refuted by Villiers, who places it on a sort of peninsula on the left bank formed by the Tetsau Bend about two miles above the outlet of the Wakenda River. This identification of the site of the first French military post in the Missouri country is not the least important of the results of the Baron's recent researches.

³⁰ Charlevoix, *Voyage to North America*, etc., Dublin, 1766, 2:164.

the Indians and the French.³¹ Together with the commandant he made visits to the Missouri and Osage villages, where he apparently made an impression upon the Indians. The Missouri river Indians who accompanied Bourgmond to France in 1725 declare in their address to Louis XV "that they never had any one to teach them to pray save only a white collar who came to them a little time ago, whom they are happy to have and [they] beseech you to send others."³² Though the Company of the Indies, leaseholder at this period of the Louisiana colony, had assured Mercier an annual salary of 600 livres, complaint is made in a contemporary memoir emanating from the Society of Foreign Missions that the missionary had received no subsidy whatever *pour avoir accompagné M. de Bourgmond dans la découverte du Missouri et y être resté avec lui autant de temps qu'il y est resté*.³³

In 1725 Desliettes, commandant of the Illinois country, was instructed to thank *le Sr. Mercier, aumonier du Poste des Missouris*, for his services, it being noted, however, "that in all the Posts where there are no inhabitants and consequently no casuel [free-will offering for ministerial services], it is morally impossible for a Priest to live and support himself there on 600 [livres] for everything."³⁴ The order for the abandonment of the fort issued at the Paris headquarters of the Company of the Indies October 27, 1727, specified that "a missionary was to be left there if he thinks he can make any progress in the preaching of the Gospel among the Indians," and a salary for this purpose was to be assured him.³⁵ Father Mercier, however, retired from Fort Orleans with the French troops or possibly earlier, resuming his previous functions of resident missionary at Cahokia.

Meantime, the Seminary priests still clung to their original purpose of evangelizing the Indians of the Missouri. The one thing that keeps them at Cahokia, despite great financial embarrassment, so they declare in 1724, is

the hope they have that this little establishment will serve as entrepot and nursery for scattering missionaries among the Indians of the river of the

³¹ Archives Nationales, *Colonies*, C 13 a 8:210.

³² *Nebraska History and Record of Pioneer Days*, 4:10. The Indians called the Seminary Priests "white collars" (*collets blancs*) as they called the Jesuits "black robes" (*robes noirs*).

³³ *Mémoire sur l'établissement de la Mission des Tamarois, 1694-1724*. Laval Transcripts, p. 21. Illinois Historical Survey.

³⁴ *Extrait de Lettre du Conseil de la Louisiane du 23 avril 1725*. Archives Nationales, *Colonies*, C 13 a 9.

³⁵ Arch. Nat. *Colonies*, C 13 a 11:92.

Missouri where they have been the first [to go] and with which they can more easily communicate from the locality where they are now established.³⁶

A letter from the remarkably zealous Mercier to his Superiors in Quebec, Cahokia, May 21, 1735, notes that the missionaries sent by them up the Missouri must each carry along a complete chapel-outfit; moreover, he discusses almost daily with his neighbor, Father Courier, also a Seminary priest, the prospect for "the missions which it is desirable should be established on the Missouri river."³⁷ Like other missionaries of the period he protested vigorously against the sale of liquor to the Indians with the result that at his instance the order of the French court prohibiting this traffic was renewed. The last glimpse we get of him in life is in the composite picture of the three Seminary priests, Mercier, Gagnon and Laurent, drawn in 1750 by the Jesuit Vivier of Kaskaskia. "Nothing can be more amiable than their character, or more edifying than their conduct. We live with them as if we were members of the same body."³⁸ Father Mercier died at Cahokia, March 30, 1753. Bossu in his "Travels" has devoted a page to an eulogy of this scarcely known figure in the history of missionary enterprise west of the Mississippi.

I have been particularly acquainted with the Abbé Mercier, a Canadian by birth and vicar of the whole country of Illinois. He was a man of probity, whose friendship could not fail of being of use to me by the knowledge he had acquired of the manners of the Indians, who were edified by his virtues and disinterestedness. He spoke the language of the country and on account of the fluency with which he expressed himself in it, he was highly esteemed among the Indians, who consulted him in all matters. He has spent forty-five [1] years in cultivating the Lord's vineyard in these distant countries and the Indian nations have always respected him. A man of his character could not have lived long enough for the happiness of their people. This worthy apostle of Louisiana fell into a consumption in Lent and he died of it one Friday at half an hour after eleven at night expiring as a Christian hero.³⁹

In the summer of 1725, Bourgmond returned to France where in recompense for his services on the Missouri he received from Louis XV a patent of nobility, the king's own heraldic expert devising his coat of arms, *d'azur à un sauvage au naturel, couché sur une montagne d'argent*.

In accordance with instructions previously received,—the Government hoping by this maneuver to impress the Louisiana natives

³⁶ Laval Transcripts, p. 21. Ill. Hist. Survey.

³⁷ Laval Transcripts. Ill. Hist. Survey.

³⁸ *Jesuit Relations*, 69:223.

³⁹ *Travels Through that Part of North America Formerly Called Louisiana by Mr. Bossu, Captain in the French Marines*, London, 1771, 1:159-160.

with the power of France,—Bourgmond conducted from America on this occasion a party of Indians, including Chicagou, chief of the Tamaroa, a Missouri, an Oto, an Osage and a young squaw, the “Princess of the Missouri,” who was baptized in Notre Dame. The Indians were presented to the King and the Duchess of Orleans, danced at the Opera and the Theatre Italien, hunted in the Bois de Boulogne, made harangues which were translated into Alexandrines and found that the beruffled and highly perfumed gentlemen coutiers of the Tuileries smelt like alligators.⁴⁰

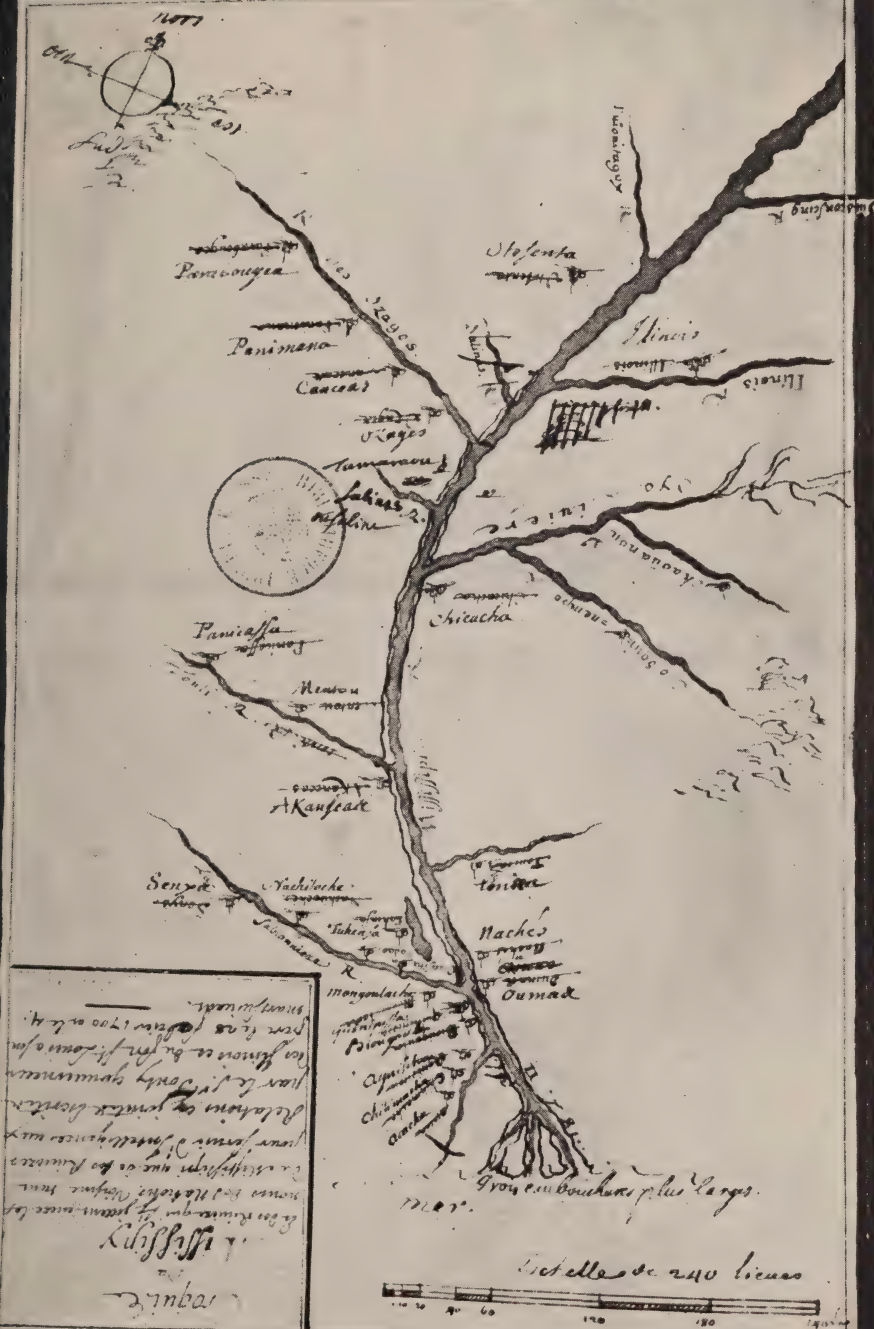
Though Bourgmond had signalized himself as discoverer of the Upper Missouri, anticipating the La Verendrye brothers by a quarter of a century, there was no one after his departure competent to carry on the work of exploration and the river was thereupon given over to adventurers, traders and *coureurs de bois*. In the same year, 1728, that apparently saw the evacuation of Fort Orleans, the Louisiana Council of the Company of the Indies granted the Canadians Marain and Outlas the sole privilege of the fur trade on the rivers Missouri and Ouabache (Ohio) for five years on condition that they sold only to the Company and delivered at New Orleans.⁴¹

Meantime, the quest of the Western Sea continued to fix attention on the Missouri as the likeliest means of communication with that much sought for body of water. Marquette, discoverer of the Missouri, had, as we saw, hoped to penetrate by its waters to the Gulf of California. Guillaume de L’Isle, outstanding cartographer of the day, expressed a preference for the Missouri to any other route for reaching the Western Sea; and Father Charlevoix reporting in 1723 to the French Government the result of his personal investigation of the problem in an officially undertaken tour through Canada and the Mississippi Valley, also suggested the exploration of the Missouri as one of the two likely solutions he was able to propose.⁴² He was deeply impressed as he stood at its mouth. “I believe this is the finest confluence in the world . . . the Missouri seems to enter the Mississippi like a conqueror.” But the French never succeeded in tracing the river to its source. It was only when Lewis and Clark in their epic overland journey of 1804-06 reached the Continental

⁴⁰ Villiars, *op. cit.*, pp. 113, 125. Bossu, *op. cit.*, 1:142.

⁴¹ Archives Nationales, *Colonies*, C 13 a 11:154.

⁴² *Conjectures sur l’existence d’une mer dans la partie occidentale du Canada et du Mississippi par G. De l’Isle de l’Académie Royale des Sciences*. This document accompanied by a neatly made map in colors, is in a Ms. volume, *Memoires de Louisiane*, etc., (p. 147), in the Newberry Library, Chicago. See note 17.



Divide and slipped down on the other side by the Columbia towards the Pacific that the secret of the headwaters of the Missouri and the route to the Western Sea were finally made known to the world.

V

Missionary enterprise in the Missouri region in the French period likewise proved abortive. The Seminary priests of Cahokia never realized their early sanguine expectations of evangelical work in that direction. All they could accomplish was to instruct French traders going up the Missouri to baptize such children in the Indian villages as they found in danger of death. Writing in 1750, as the French regime was drawing to a close, Father Vivier, the Jesuit, tells of the prospect for missionary zeal in that inviting field.

It [the country of the Illinois] spreads through the vast country watered by the Missouri and the rivers that fall into it,—the finest country in the world. How many Savage Nations in these immense regions offer themselves to the Missionary's zeal! They belong to the district of the Gentlemen of the Foreign Missions, to whom Monseigneur the Bishop of Quebec allotted them many years ago . . . Among the Nations of the Missouri are some who seem to be especially disposed to receive the Gospel; as, for instance, the Panismahas.⁴³

But the tribes of the Missouri basin had to remain unvisited whether by Seminary priests or Jesuits, though in a *Mémoire sur Louisiane*, one of the many similar documents of the period to be found in the Paris archives, the earnest suggestion is made to the French government that Jesuit missions be established *d'espace en espace* along the Missouri as far as its source, "especially in localities by which the Spaniards can find entrance to this great river. The Jesuits will engage the Indian nations in the interests of the French, etc."⁴⁴ Curiously enough, when the Society of Jesus re-entered Western territory in 1823, after an absence therefrom of half a century, the Federal authorities in Washington assigned to it Council Bluffs on the Missouri as base of operations for its initial missionary effort among the Indians, shrewd John C. Calhoun, the Secretary of War, writing on the occasion to General Clark in St. Louis:

It is believed that the missionaries will, besides preparing the way for their ultimate civilization, be useful in preventing the commission of outrages and preserving peace with the tribes among which they may fix themselves.⁴⁵

Moreover, as we read in a remarkable solemn contract or concordat

⁴³ *Jesuit Relations*, 69:225.

⁴⁴ Arch. Nat., *Colonies*, C 13 a 43:187.

⁴⁵ Calhoun to Clark, March, 1823, St. Louis University Archives.

drawn up in connection with the same significant event, the Catholic ecclesiastical head in the West

cedes and surrenders to the Society of Jesus forever, as soon and in proportion as its increase of members enables it to undertake the same, the absolute and exclusive care of all the missions already established and which shall be hereafter established on the Missouri River and its tributary streams.⁴⁶

A quite amazing and almost fantastic grant of spiritual jurisdiction which the swift expansion of Catholicism west of the Mississippi was promptly to render nugatory.

St. Louis, Missouri.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J., PH. D.

⁴⁶ Thomas Hughes, *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, Documents, 1:1022.

RIGHTING HISTORY

THE FITZGERALD-LEE INSTANCE

The patient chisels of Time are slowly but ruthlessly chipping away the names that were carved too hastily on the tall columns of fame and substituting names more worthy. Examples of this phenomenon, although commonplace to the hagiographer, come under observation in the non-miraculous walks of life with sufficient infrequency to impart to the incidents that do occur a singular interest. Here is a case in point.

At Philadelphia, we have just closed the celebration of the heroes and the deeds of 1776. An all-too-small group of able and generous persons multiplied themselves to see that the Catholic actors in the stirring events of that early date should not be overlooked. Despite their intelligent care and devoted labor, the name of John Fitzgerald was not discernable in any of the accounts of the sesqui-centennial commemorations. It might be debated whether any other Catholic of that day—even Charles Carroll of Carrollton—took a larger share in securing nationhood to America and their first enjoyment of enfranchisement to Catholics in the English-speaking world. (Fitzgerald's name is not likely to be overlooked again.)

The Catholic Encyclopedia, in whose manifold excellences we all rejoice, is a worse offender. It properly gives ample space to the Catholic participants in the fruitful deeds of the American Revolution, but it carries no sketch of Fitzgerald. There is not even the slightest reference to him in its copious general index. We there find Moylan and Barry, as well as Taney of later date, whose offspring are lost to the Church, dead therefore to us; and the two Sullivans and the O'Brien brothers, who appear even then to have lost the spiritual connotation of their fine names. Pulaski and Kosciuszko, although—save as memories—they no longer enter into American life, are remembered. None of the gallant Frenchmen are forgotten. Fitzgerald—with perhaps Aidan Burke—is the outstanding example of omission. But the ineluctable chisels of Time are suddenly clanging, and attracting many eyes to where the name of John Fitzgerald stands out illustrious; a name that will never again be absent in any honored roster made by such scholarly men as the Philadelphia group or the Catholic encyclopedists.

John Fitzgerald Lee, a scion of John Fitzgerald, has very recently emblazoned that name together with his own on the enduring escut-

cheon of a great Catholic university. The will of John Fitzgerald Lee, Jr., lately inventoried, gives St. Louis University nearly three-quarters of a million dollars. Compared to donations to other institutions by wealthy Americans, this gift might seem meagre; but we must not fail to note that it takes its place among the very few splendid legacies to the cause of Catholic higher education in the United States.

It will need no argument to demonstrate that the benefactor of Catholic education becomes a part of the school he aids. By enabling it to strengthen and enlarge its activities, he makes himself participant in its vitality; the school is thus far himself, still living, still laboring for good. It is interesting in this connection to recall that St. Louis University has kept alive through more than a century the name of a certain Jeremiah Connor, who willed it a small property that it never received; although the municipality of St. Louis which did receive an estate worth millions has forgotten him completely—no park, no school, no street, bears his name. Henceforth, wherever St. Louis University will be known thoroughly, and it is known at present to some extent in every part of the world, there it will be impossible that the name John Fitzgerald should fall into oblivion.

John Fitzgerald Lee is a name that any American institution, and more so, any Catholic American school should be pleased to be privileged to perpetuate; it is so brimful of American historical associations. Richard Henry Lee, a man who was second to no other (save Washington) for his patriotic stand for American Independence, the actual first proponent of the Declaration of Independence, and a signer of that document, was the father of Francis Lightfoot Lee, Jr., who married Jane, daughter of John Fitzgerald. A son and a grandson of this union bore the name John Fitzgerald Lee, Senior and Junior respectively. It was the junior, the great grandson of both John Fitzgerald and of Richard Henry Lee, who has just bestowed such generous largess on St. Louis University, and in the light of whose name those of his sires shine with their proper distinction. Here in outline is the descent:

Richard Henry Lee		John Fitzgerald,
Francis Lightfoot Lee, Jr.,	married	Jane Fitzgerald,
		John Fitzgerald Lee, Sr.,
		John Fitzgerald Lee, Jr.

The books are full of Richard Henry Lee, but who was John Fitzgerald? The names of his parents and the date and place of his birth are unknown—items so essential to encyclopedists. But the

silence on these points only enhance the wonder of the man. For it is well known that he was an Irishman and a Catholic who took up his abode in Virginia, when to be a Catholic was to be an outlaw in the Old Dominion and to be an Irishman was synonymous with the wearer of the collar of indenture. But here was an Irish Catholic, who seemed to be nobody from nowhere, and presto! in his presence the Virginians grew superior to their laws, broke the bonds of their social tyranny, and welcomed the stranger to their homes; the most exclusive circles of the old aristocracy courted the friendship of John Fitzgerald.

A neighbor and an intimate friend of Washington before the Revolution, he threw himself with the Father of our Country into that struggle from the outset, and shared the tent, at times the couch, and always the trials of the great commander. A contemporary tells us—and here is a hint of the source of admiration of the Cavaliers for Fitzgerald—that he “was celebrated as one of the finest horsemen in the American Army;” he also informs us that he was Washington’s favorite aide-de-camp. Any aide-de-camp is, of course, a chosen man, selected for his post by his unquestionable reliability, for he shared with his general the most vital secrets of the war. To have been the favorite among this small corps of half a dozen elite indicates extraordinary merit.

The tradition of Alexandria, Virginia, is that Fitzgerald was the organizer of Washington’s life-guard. It is certain that it was first organized in Alexandria, Fitzgerald’s city. He was himself something more than a life-guard of the general. It is remarkable how close he is to Washington whenever treachery is abroad. He was a witness against Benedict Arnold; he was at Washington’s side at Monmouth where General Charles Lee—not of the Virginia family—acted a traitor’s part; he was first to make known to Washington the “Conway Cabal,” which he did with equal caution, tact, and generosity.

Before concluding the story of Fitzgerald, accuracy requires a slight re-statement. It was said above that Richard Henry Lee’s son married Fitzgerald’s daughter; the fact is Francis Lightfoot Lee married two daughters of Fitzgerald; first, Elizabeth, who died childless; and then on February 9, 1810, with dispensation from Archbishop Carroll, he married Jane. In about seven years of wedded life, Jane bore five children, dying when they were all quite small. Although they had all been baptized as Catholics, they were not reared in the faith. One alone of the five, John Fitzgerald Lee, was happy in having chosen as wife a brave woman, Ann Eleanor Hill of

Prince George County, Maryland, and through her the extinguished light of faith was relit in her branch of the family. Should not her name then also have stood at the head of this sketch together with that of her son? That son had no children. But another son, William Hill Lee, it is seen, carries her venerated name, and he transmits it in his family as a precious heirloom.

It remains to say of John Fitzgerald that in peace no less than in war he was the close companion of the Father of Our Country. In Washington's diary his name occurs so often that it would need an actual count to know whether anybody else—outside the family—sat so often at table with the ex-president. There was a curious gathering at Alexandria about the first of July, 1798, when Washington had as guests John Fitzgerald, "L. (most likely Francis Lightfoot, Jr.) Lee," and "Mr. DuBourg, president of Georgetown College." Why were they not granted there on the Potomac a clairvoyant vision of the future city of St. Louis out on the great river of the west, where that Mr. (Bishop) DuBourg is now honored as the founder of the same St. Louis University, of which an offspring of both Mr. Fitzgerald and Mr. L. Lee has just made himself part of the soul.

The chisels of Time ring to the music of laughter. They sometimes mock us, they make egregious errors even after ages of opportunity of righting wrong. But there are no errors on the entablatures of Eternity. There we read that good fruit can come only from a good stock, from a living stock, juicy with garnered sunlight. There we learn that those who—though seemingly dead—still go on performing good deeds are in truth alive in the eternal sunlight; of such are John Fitzgerald, John Fitzgerald Lee, and—Ann Eleanor (Hill) Lee.

JOHN K. LAURENCE.

St. Louis.

HOMESEEKERS IN THE WILDERNESS

The decade or more that followed the Revolutionary War was a period of restlessness and misery among those who had fought its battles, for many men were reduced to penury. At the close of the struggle the army was still unpaid and the country was actually in a state of bankruptcy. The year 1782 showed not a dollar in the treasury of the United States. "Imagine," Morris wrote to Franklin on July 11, 1783, "the situation of a man, who is to direct the finances of a country almost without revenue (for such you perceive this to be), surrounded by creditors, whose distresses while they increase their clamors, render it more difficult to appease them; an army ready to disband and mutiny; a government whose sole authority consists in the power of framing recommendations."¹

Brave hearts, that had stood the hardships and the privations of many grilling encounters in the War for Independence, were undaunted even by this deluge of desolation that now swept in upon them. That struggle in most cases had all the stings of want, cold, and hunger of that terrible winter some of them had experienced earlier at Valley Forge. Involved in debts with the flower of life's days and its budding ambitions seemingly blighted, there was room for discouragement and even despair.

When the main troops of the Revolutionary Army gathered at Newburg on the Hudson, early in 1783 there were growing signs of dissatisfaction. The officers had been promised half pay for life, but nothing had been done by Congress to relieve their distress. The rank and file of the soldiers had not one word about compensation for their services. Patience was finally exhausted, and they sent to Congress a delegation that was not afraid to speak its mind. "We have borne," they said, "all that men can bear—our property is expended—our private resources are at an end, and our friends are wearied out and disgusted with our incessant applications."² These feelings of indignation were fanned into a fierce flame of passion by an anonymous message, circulated at camp on March 10. This was a cunning and dastardly scheme of the enemy to weaken or break down the morale of the American soldiers and to snatch thereby success and victory from defeat, even while peace was being declared.³

¹ Wharton, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the American Revolution*, Vol. 6, p. 203.

² *Journals of Congress*, Vol. 8, pp. 225-228, April 29, 1783.

³ This dangerous message, skilfully written by the aid-de-camp of General

It was well that Washington grasped the seriousness of the situation and prepared that memorable address, which was a most impressive and soul stirring appeal to the patriotism and generous forbearance of his own men and at the same time a most stinging rebuke to the fiendish conspirators present on the occasion of its delivery, those who tried to plot the ruin of this country by discord, and who would cause to flow again another deluge of blood.⁴ The dramatic scene of the aged General speaking with quiet dignity and kindness to his late comrades in arms melted all to tears. There was born that spirit of solidarity and union, which later brought into existence the Society of Cincinnati.⁵

From that time on there was awakened in the souls of these men a new and strange enthusiasm, a sort of rebirth of energy in both body and mind, a blossoming of new aspirations and new ideals that bore fruit in the migrations of many people from the seaboard states as settlers in the western wilds.

A few days after Washington's speech to his soldiers at Newburg, Mr. Timothy Pichering suggested to a group of army officers there, a plan of frontier settlement, that would be capable of protecting themselves against the attacks of the Indians. Then came another inspiration, the idea of giving Congress the opportunity of offering bounties to the soldiers as payments for military services still owing to the army.

Gates, John Armstrong (see Hatch, *Administration of the Revolutionary Army*, p. 161), is as follows: "Can you then consent to be the only sufferers by this revolution, and retiring from the field, grow old in poverty, wretchedness and contempt? Can you consent to wade through the vile mire of dependency and owe the miserable remnant of that life to charity, which has hitherto been spent in honor? If you can—go—and carry with you, the jest of Tories and the scorn of Whigs—the ridicule, and what is worse the pity of the world. Go, starve and be forgotten. But if your spirit revolt at this; if you have sense enough to discover and spirit enough to oppose tyranny under whatever garb it may assume; whether it be the plain coat of republicanism, or the splendid coat of royalty, if you have learned to discriminate between a people and a cause, between men and principles—awake; attend you to your situation and redress yourselves. If the present moment is lost, every effort is in vain; and your threats then, will be so empty as your entreaties now. In *Journals of Congress*, Vol. 8, pp. 225-238, April 29, 1783. No pen picture of conditions in the Revolutionary Army at the conclusion of the war could have been more correctly and truthfully presented.

⁴ Washington, *Writings* (Ford's edition), Vol. 10, pp. 170-174.

⁵ Brooks, *Henry Knox*, p. 175; see also McLaughlin, *The Confederation and the Constitution in the American Nation* series, Vol. 10, p. 67.

The scheme amounted practically to the formation of a new state or territory beyond the Ohio.⁶

In June, 1783, an ordinance was introduced into Congress, that had for its purpose the organization of the Northwest. This was the first scheme of systematic and concerted colonization attempted by the newly formed government. The petition for the law, draughted by Rufus Putnam, spoke of dividing the territory into tracts. Congress remained inactive, but in March, 1784, Virginia ceded to Congress a large portion of the unoccupied western lands under its jurisdiction and another ordinance was draughted; this one by Jefferson. This measure prohibited slavery in the new territories after the year 1800. It was this restriction on slaves chiefly that caused the bill to be amended and it was passed without this important provision on April 23, 1784. The law never went into effect.⁷

Another ordinance, the famous one of 1787, made the final regulation for governing the Northwest, but this was not enacted into law until the demands of prospective settlers urged upon Congress the necessity of some definite and suitable action. It was due to the zeal and energy of the retired soldiery of the Atlantic Seaboard, that the way was prepared, and they became the pioneers in colonization in the Middle West.

The first means employed by them to relieve their poverty-stricken condition was a mutual agreement to become home seekers in the wilderness. From this hardy stock of settlers many families in the Central States are descended. At first, there was some apprehension that this migration of the most sturdy elements of the States along the Atlantic coast would work serious injury. In fact Monroe made a trip west; but his superficial observations set the anxious minds of others at rest. "A great part of the territory," he stated on his return, "is miserably poor, especially that near Lakes Michigan and Erie; and that upon the Mississippi and the Illinois consists of extensive plains which have not had, from appearances, and will not have a single bush on them for ages."⁸

We may be sure that the ideas of settlement outlined by Pichering buoyed up the spirits of the soldiers, whose chief thoughts were about

⁶ Pichering, *Pichering*, Vol. 1, p. 457; also pp. 546-549; *Cutler*, pp. 159-174; Buell, *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*, p. 215. Putnam's draught of the petition to Congress spoke of marking out a "tract or territory suitable to form a distinct government in time to be admitted, one of the *Confederated States of America*."

⁷ *Cutler*, *Cutler*, Vol. 2, pp. 407 et seq. *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 2, pp. 603 et seq. Randall, *Jefferson*, Vol. 1, pp. 397-399, *Journals of Congress*, April 19, 1784.

⁸ Monroe, *Writings* (Hamilton's Ed.), Vol. 1, p. 177.

their own future condition and that of their families. They hoped by the chance here presented, to repair their broken fortunes. Two hundred and eighty-five officers residing in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Maryland petitioned Congress for the grant of a tract of land whose limits were Lake Erie, State of Pennsylvania, Ohio River, and a meridian drawn just beyond the Scioto River.⁹ Congress again was slow to act and the petition did not bear fruit.

A positive yearning now manifested itself among the military class and nowhere was this more pronounced than in the State of Massachusetts, where one hundred and fifty-five officers were turning their eyes westward to the fertile lands beyond the mountains. In the spring of 1786 steps were taken to form an organization that would push the claims of these war heroes; and to that end a meeting was held at the Bunch of Grapes Tavern in Boston where the Ohio Company of Associates was founded with General Rufus Putnam, General Samuel H. Parsons, and Manasseh Cutler as directors. According to the articles of agreement the chief purpose of the company was to purchase lands in the west and to promote settlements.¹⁰ At the conclusion of their deliberations the Company sent Parsons to New York as a delegate to lay their memorial before Congress. The Associates insisted on having their status determined before embarking on this financial enterprise. Cutler was sent as a second delegate in July with full powers to make the purchase in the name of the Company; not in hard cash but in certificates of public indebtedness.¹¹

Congress happened to be considering at the time the regulations for the government of the Northwest Territory; Cutler proposed a bill of rights be added to the ordinance. The six articles provided for, (1) freedom of religion, (2) habeas corpus, bail, rights of property, sacredness of contract, (3) establishment of schools and good faith with the Indians, (4) non-alienation of the territory, just taxation of the inhabitants, non-taxation of State lands and free navigation of waters, (5) arrangement of boundaries for states to be created

⁹ For the history of the Northwest in general consult the following works: *The Life, Journal and Correspondence of Manasseh Cutler*, by William Parker Cutler and Julia Perkins Cutler; *The Old Northwest: The Beginning of Our Colonial System*, by Burke Aaron Hinsdale; *The Saint Clair Papers*, by W. H. Smith; *The Winning of the West*, by Theodore Roosevelt; *The Expansion of the American People*, by Edwin Erle Sparks; *The Confederation and the Constitution*, by Andrew Cunningham McLaughlin.

¹⁰ For the Articles of Agreement, see Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 1, pp. 181-184.

¹¹ Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 1, p. 228.

from the territory, (6) no slavery to be permitted but fugitive slaves to be returned.¹² On July 13, the Ordinance was passed. It is considered to this day one of the most important documents of our history.

The Ohio Company, through a bargain made between Congress and Manasseh Cutler, came into possession of two million acres of land. The property was situated north of the Ohio River and was to extend from the seventh range to the eighteenth range. The Company paid five hundred thousand dollars, but on account of default in later payments, its holdings were cut in half.¹³

Shortly after Cutler's return to Boston, the Ohio Company's eagerness to begin the actual work of settlement was shown in the extensive preparations for the departure of the first group of "colonists." As we follow the Journal of the Associates we cannot help noticing how every detail of travel and settlement were carefully considered and provided for. The minutes are as follows:

A meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company, at Mr. Brackett's Tavern, the 21st of November and continued by adjournment to the twenty second, Resolved;

That the lands of the Ohio Company be allotted and divided in the following manner; anything to the contrary in former resolutions notwithstanding,—viz: Four thousand acres near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers, for a city and commons, and congruous to *this*, one thousand lots of eight acres each amounting to eight thousand acres.

Upon the Ohio, in fractional township, one thousand lots of one hundred and sixteen acres and forty-eight one hundredths, amounting to one hundred and sixteen thousand four hundred and eighty acres.

In the townships on the navigable rivers, one thousand lots of three hundred and twenty acres, amounting to three hundred and twenty thousand acres, and, in the inland towns, one thousand lots of nine hundred and ninety two thousand acres to be divided and allotted as the agents shall hereafter direct.

That there be the following reservations, viz:

One township at the Falls of the great Hochocking River One township at the mouth of the great or little river of that name, and, One township to the mouth of the great Kanhawa river, which reservations may hereafter be divided and allotted as the Directors and agents shall see fit.

Resolved; That the city at the mouth of the Muskingum river be so laid into oblong squares as that each house lot shall consist of ninety feet in front and one hundred and eighty feet in depth, with an alley of ten feet in width, through each square in its oblong direction; and that the centre street, crossing

¹² The text of the Northwest Ordinance of 1787 may be found in *Old South Leaflets*; in *American History Leaflets*; Poore's *Charters and Constitutions*, and Preston's *Documents*.

¹³ *Journals of Congress* (Ed. of 1823), Vol. 4, pp. 17 et seq.; Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 1, p. 236.

the city be one hundred and fifty feet wide, anything to the contrary in former resolution notwithstanding.

Resolved; That in addition to the reservations heretofore ordered, there be eight house lots in the city, at the mouth of the Muskingum reserved for public uses.

Resolved; That the army bounty rights, be considered in part payment of the Shares of Military associates, in the ratio of one dollar to every acre to which they are entitled, and that this rule be observed by the agents of the subscribers in rendering their returns, and by the agents appointed by the Directors for the second payment to the board of Treasury.

Resolved; That no further subscriptions be admitted after the first of January next, and that all interest arising upon sums paid since the payment of the first half million to the board of Treasury, until the second payment be completed, shall accrue to the benefit of the Company's funds; and that the agents pay all the monies they may have in their possession into the treasury of the Company, by the first day of March next.

Resolved; That the eight acre lots be surveyed and plan or map thereof be made, with each lot numbered thereon, by the first Wednesday of March next; and that a copy thereof, be immediately forwarded to the secretary and the original retained by the Company's superintendent. That the Agents meet upon the same Wednesday in March at Rice's Tavern in Providence, State of Rhode Island, to draw for said lots in numbers, as the same shall be stated upon the plat. That a list of the draughts be transmitted by the Secretary to the Superintendent and a copy thereof preserved in the Secretary's office.

Resolved; That this meeting of the Directors and Agents of the Ohio Company be, and it is hereby adjourned to the first Wednesday of March 1788 to be then holden at Rice's Tavern, in the town of Providence and State of Rhode Island.

WINTHROP SARGENT,
Secretary to the Ohio Company.

The session which followed consisted of the Board of Directors alone, and arranged the details of operation. The results of these deliberations are here presented in the words of the Journal of the Company:

At a meeting of the Directors of the Ohio Company, at Mr. Bracketts Tavern, in Boston, November 23, 1787—for the purpose of carrying into effect the surveys, and other business, of the Ohio Company as agreed upon by the Directors and Agents at their meetings of the 29th of August last and the 1st instant.
Ordered;

That four surveyors be employed, under the direction of the Superintendent after named—that twenty two men shall attend the surveyors. That there be added to this number, twenty men, including six boat-builders, four house carpenters, one blacksmith, and nine common workmen.

That the boat-builders shall proceed on Monday next; and that surveyors rendezvous at Hartford, the first day of January next, on their way to Muskingum.

That the boat-builders and men with the surveyors be proprietors in the company—that their tools and one ax and one hoe to each man and thirty pounds

weight of baggage, shall be carried in the company's wagons; and that the subsistence of the men on their journey be furnished by the Company.

That upon their arrival at the places of destination and entering upon the business of their employment, the men shall be subsisted by the Company, and allowed wages at the rate of four dollars (each) per month, until discharged,—That they be held in the Company's service, until the first of July next, unless sooner discharged; and that if any of the persons employed, shall leave the service, or wilfully injure the same, or disobey the orders of the Superintendent or others acting under him; the person so offending shall forfeit all claim to wages.

That their wages shall be paid the next autumn in cash or lands, upon the same terms as the Company purchased them,—That each man furnish himself with a good small arm, bayonet, six flints, a powder horn and pouch, priming wire and brush,—half a pound of powder, one pound of balls, and one pound of buck shot. The men so engaged, shall be subject to the orders of the Superintendent, and those he may appoint as afore said, in all kinds of business they shall be employed in as well for boat-building and surveying as for building houses, erecting defences, clearing land and planting or other-wise for promoting the settlement; and as there is a possibility of interruption from enemies they shall also be subject to orders as aforesaid, in military command, during the time of their employment.

That Col. Ebenezer Sproat from Rhode Island, Mr. Anselm Tupper and Mr. John Matthews from Massachusetts, and Col. R. J. Meigs from Connecticut be the surveyors.

That General Rufus Putnam be the Superintendent of all business aforesaid, and he is to be employed and respected accordingly.

WINTHROP SARGENT,
Secretary to the Ohio Company.

The Secretary calls upon Subscribers to lodge in his office at Boston one of the Certificates which they may have received (for Securities and Specie) entitling them to shares in the funds of the Company agreeably to the Articles of Association.

The efforts of the Ohio Company and its definite plan of action caused almost a stampede for reservations as soon as these deliberations as contained in the Journal were published. Some associates were so eager to get to their new homes, that about a week or so afterwards several of them congregated at the parsonage of Rev. Manasseh Cutler at Ipswich, Massachusetts, and after a joyful demonstration consisting of a parade in front of the house, a sermon by the preacher, and a farewell salute from their guns they took their departure for the Ohio. When they reached Danvers they found twenty workmen and a strong baggage wagon awaiting them and on the back of this truck there was painted in large letters:

FOR THE OHIO AT THE MUSKINGUM¹⁴

Information published from Salem, Massachusetts, on November 20, 1787, seems to show the anxiety and mad rush of many to reach the new country in hopes of procuring the choicest lands, even before the newly made laws had been applied, and before the government had been established.

By a vote of the Ohio Company one hundred settlers are to be sent on to their lands this fall and winter. These settlers are to be supplied with provisions to the settlement, on their arrival at Pittsburg, to be taken in the pay of the Company at four dollars per month, and to continue in pay until May next, the pay of their wages to be in lands—computing their monthly wages to purchase public securities at the rate the company purchased of Congress. Each man must provide himself with a good musket, bayonet, and cartridge box and if they provide an ax and hoe, and mechanics their necessary tools, they will be transported gratis. We hear a number of families will set off from this neighborhood, in a few days to settle on lands of the Ohio Company.

The Ipswich group got as far as the Yougheogheny River, where some of the members of the expedition were seized with smallpox; consequently all were compelled to tarry there until February, when Rufus Putnam with the colony proper arrived. Galleys, ferries, and canoes were here built, and in April they resumed their journey to the Ohio. In another week they came into view of Fort Harmar¹⁵ and with great exultations of joy and happiness they beheld across the Muskingum River the picturesque sites of their future homes.¹⁶

A letter from a gentleman at the new settlement dated July 20, 1788, seems to indicate general satisfaction at the happy prospects offered to the new community and the deep sense of gratification and

¹⁴ Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, p. 120. See also Cutler, *Cutler*, Vol. 2.

¹⁵ The settlements south of the Ohio in Kentucky and Tennessee began somewhat earlier and were made by courageous and adventurous pioneers by individual choice, at grave personal risks and dangers, for the Indians' forays were of frequent occurrence, and kept those settlers in a constant dread of massacre at the hands of the savages. The settlement lying to the north had the protection of the United States: Fort Steuben was located on the upper Ohio, Fort Harmar at the mouth of the Muskingum and Fort Washington between the two Miamis. During the Indian war which followed the opening of the Territory, many other forts were constructed. The country comprised in this portion of the public lands now composes the States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, and part of Minnesota lying east of the Mississippi. It contained an area of 265,878 square miles. (See Sparks, *The Expansion of the American People*, p. 116.)

¹⁶ *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 1, p. 139. See also Buell, *Memoirs of Rufus Putnam*.

contentment in the midst of toil for the blessings conferred by Providence on this frontier colony. The correspondence is as follows:

We had a beautiful passage down the Ohio from Pittsburgh, in company with three Kentucke (sic) boats, without sails or oars, we glided down the fair river, and in forty eight hours arrived at the enchanting spot.

It is really a delightful situation. The first thing which presented itself, when we ascended the bank by a grand and easy pair of stairs, was a fine level spot covered with huts and tents. Ranging the Muskingum, was a fine bowery¹⁷ where our people celebrated the Fourth of July; an oration was delivered by General Varnum. The day after we arrived was the time appointed by General St. Clair to make his first public appearance.¹⁸ His Excellency came over from the Garrison to this place, escorted by a corps of officers, the Secretary, etc. The Secretary then read the Ordinance of Congress, Governor's commission, the Judge's and his own. The Governor was then congratulated on his arrival at the seat of government; and three cheers closed the ceremony. The Rev. Mr. Breck is here, and this day preached the first sermon ever delivered on the banks of the Muskingum from Exodus, Chap. 19, verses 5 and 6.

At a point on this river opposite Fort Harmar the Ohio Company established one of its first towns. When the directors met on July 2, this place received the name of Marietta in honor of Marie Antoinette—a compound of the first and last syllables. Almost as soon as Marietta received its name there appeared in a Boston paper a news item which read as follows:

Joseph May, Esq. of Boston, has presented a bell to the Ohio Company for the first publick building to be erected in the territory of the Company, and such building¹⁹ having been ordered by the Agents the Directors are to take measures of transporting the bell from Boston to the city of Marietta.

Accounts from the city of Marietta say that within twelve months past more than ten thousand emigrants have passed that place to Kentucky and other parts on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers. The greater part of these were not owners of any lands in the countries to which they migrated, but expected to be purchasers; and many of them would have become settlers on the Ohio Company's tracts had the arrangements of the Company been so far completed as to hold out the necessary encouragement to them.

About the same time as the first settlements of the Ohio Company were in progress, the inhabitants of the west, both Indian and white,

¹⁷ A temporary place of assembling was constructed of felled trees and branches and called "The Bower."

¹⁸ See *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 1.

¹⁹ It is likely that the building here referred to, was the Campus Martius, the Stockade occupied by the first Governor of the Northwest Territory, General St. Clair, and by some of the pioneers of Ohio during the Indian war that broke out shortly after the settlements were made. It served as a fortification, town hall, court house, etc., and was located on a glaciis about two hundred yards from the river bank.

began to see the advantages of opening trade relations along the great waterways. An excerpt of a letter from a gentleman in the western country to his friend in Philadelphia presents the great possibilities of commerce, and actually shows that plans of operation were under consideration by wide-awake citizens.

Last fall the Chickasaws sent a certain Capt. Thompson, one of their chiefs, to the Falls of the Ohio, to express the sentiments of their Nation, and of their friends and allies the Choctaws respecting trade and commerce which they wished to establish with the inhabitants of this country. The place they propose for carrying on the trade at the Chickasaw Bluffs; which is high ground on the east side of the Mississippi River, about three hundred miles below the mouth of the Ohio and about six hundred miles from Orleans. He said that the Spaniards had solicited their trade, and offered to supply them with goods, if they would go to war with the Americans, but that they detested the proposal, and had sent him to know our minds, and would form no connection with the Spaniards, if they could have trade with us to afford them a supply, otherwise their necessities would oblige them to trade with the Spaniards. He also made an offer of five miles square at the Bluffs, to the company that might go down to establish a trade there.—In consequence of the above message and overture by the Indian plenipotentiary, some boats have already gone down to the Bluffs, and several families propose going to settle there, and if it is true, as it is said, that the State of Georgia has agreed to confirm whatever cessions of land the Indians may make in these parts, this will give great encouragement. It is proposed to lay out a town at the Bluffs, and as this is near Natchez, which is the boundary between the Spaniards and us on the Mississippi, and is the only situation for a town except the Natchez, from the mouth of the Mississippi to six hundred miles farther up, may we not conclude that it will be a very advantageous seat for trade with the Spaniards, who have for many years carried on a considerable trade to a distance of six hundred miles farther up the river, purchasing the produce at near three or four hundred per cent higher than we can afford it to them at the Bluffs; which it is reasonable to expect will induce the Orleans traders and merchants to stop here, and if so, I make no doubt but that we shall, in a short time, have a flourishing trade there, especially as the Spanish and French inhabitants of the Mississippi being acquainted with the navigation of that river from their infancy, will, without much difficulty, bring vessels of a considerable burthen so far up.—A country is expected to be laid off in those parts very soon, by order of the state; and the land is said to be amazingly rich, and situated on the head waters of several fine rivers which empty into the southern lakes and Atlantic Ocean, will afford the inhabitants a communication with the West Indies, or any other part. There is also reason to believe that the difficulties that might be apprehended from the Indians possessing that part of the country, will not be great, or of long continuance as there is now the fairest opportunity of promoting civilization among them. Their country is greatly thinned of deer etc., a number of wealthy families among them have convinced them in a great measure of the advantages the white people enjoy; to support their families, to build commodious houses, plant orchards, and raise large stocks of black cattle, hogs, etc.; they are in general well disposed, especially the Chickasaws, and earnestly wish to have mechanics among them. A number of old ones most probably will retain their attachment to hunting, and

a wandering indolent life; but there is great reason to hope that the young ones might be brought to a more regular way, were proper pains taken; and to effect this, the most probable means seem to be, to establish a generous trade with them, entirely prohibiting spiritous liquors so baneful, not only to Indians, but even to many of the white people, who ought by the possession of Christianity and the superior advantages they enjoy to be more exemplary in their conduct. Establishing schools among them might also contribute to their civilization and prepare the way for their embracing the Gospel, the powerful influence of which has been evidenced with happy effects on those nations, which now constitute the enlightened and highly improved part of the world. And when we consider that these Indians are able to send ten thousand warriors into a field, as it is said, they readily can, it is certainly a matter of no small moment to cultivate their friendship though still a matter of much greater importance to endeavor to spread amongst them the light of the glorious Gospel of Christ, which, has hitherto alas! been lamentably too much neglected.

But there is another side of frontier history that presents a gruesome aspect in the lives of these brave pioneers in the wilderness if we are to judge from certain letters sent to friends in the East. A gentleman in writing at the Muskingum Settlement on June 14, 1788, related the following experience:

On the 12th inst. a party of Indians, the number uncertain, attacked the guard posted for the protection of the stores and goods lately sent to Muskingum for the treaty, killed two of the guards, a mulatto servant of Mr. Dunker, one other guard is badly wounded and two missing, but whether taken or not is uncertain. One Indian was left dead on the ground and it is supposed that several were wounded. About an hour after the attack a number of the Delaware tribe came into the guard with their wives and children; they say the dead Indian is a Tawawa or Chippewa.—This is the substance of the officer's letter to General Harmar:

“The place, where the goods were, is between seventy and eighty miles up the river, on the west side. The guard consisted of thirty men under the command of Lieutenant McDole; it is about three weeks since they were sent up to build the Council House or Bower, and cellars to secure the goods from the weather; for the Indians having complained that we did not meet them on equal ground, the commissioners had determined for once, to try their good faith, and meet them without the protection of a military force; and as the treaty was to be held by the special request of the Indians, there could be no reason to expect an attack of the fort. Nor is it believed to be done by the approbation of the Indians in general; but on the contrary, it is supposed to be a party of lawless wretches, who are outcasts from their own tribes, and who have associated together for the purposes of mischief. But be this as it may it is such a piece of business as will prevent the treaty being held until satisfaction is demanded for so gross an insult.²⁰ In the meantime the goods are ordered down to this place, and boats set off last evening for that purpose.

²⁰ As St. Clair was making preparations for this treaty with several tribes of Indians to be held at Muskingum, the Chippewas from the Upper Lakes attacked the guards that were sent to escort the Indians to the place of meeting, who

"What will be the consequence no man can tell—however my opinion is, that the issue will be to our advantage; for on the one hand, if government behave with that firmness and dignity which they ought; the culprits will be delivered up to punishment, or an Indian war ensue; if the first is done the savages will be more careful how they offend in time to come. If the latter takes place there is every human probability to believe it will end in the destruction and expulsion of them in such manner as that none shall be left to make us afraid.

"Governor St. Clair arrived here last Wednesday."

A letter from an officer at the Rapids of the Ohio to a gentleman in Philadelphia dated August 25, shows that the Indian attacks were becoming more frequent and serious. He said:

I have the pleasure to inform you, our troops from the Miami arrived on the 15th inst. and yesterday we began the hut—in about one month I presume we will complete our building and finish our stockade. A few days since, some horses were stolen from the neighboring inhabitants, but whether the Indians or a party of negroes, who ran away about that time, is not ascertained; the former however bear the blame. On the tenth of next month Clarke marches into the Indian country with a powerful army; he proceeds immediately to their towns, which he intends to lay in ashes, destroy their corn, kill and scalp as many as he may conquer.

This scourge they justly deserve, for immediately after and at the time of the treaty held at the Miami²¹ they killed and plundered the inhabitants. The settlers of Kentucky have lost upwards of five hundred horses during the summer—Should this expedition be crowned with success, it will give peace to our frontiers for this year at least and put a total stop to treaties²² hereafter which it seems have answered no other purpose than that of spending public money and serving the private purposes of a few designing men.

charged them with their sharp spears and inflicted severe injuries on the unsuspecting soldiers who immediately returned the attack, driving the Indians back and repulsing them completely. The Chippewas recovered all their dead warriors except one. They marched home with them scalps of the soldiers they had slain, and one other captive American. At the mouth of Lake Michigan near Mackinaw, they surrounded the British guard and twelve soldiers stationed there because of their vastly superior numbers. The officer and his men broke through the Indians to safety, at the same time rescuing the captive American whom he sent back home to the Ohio settlement. See *St. Clair Papers*, Vol. 2, p. 50; *State Department Documents*, Vol. 3, No. 150—William Wilson and James Rinkin to Richard Butler, Aug. 4, 1788; Wilson and Rinkin to St. Clair, Aug. 31, 1788; Rinkin to Butler, July 2, 1788; St. Clair to Knox, Sept. 4, 1788.

²¹ See *Among the Indian Chiefs at the Great Miami*, by the author in the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. 8, No. 3, pp. 215-232.

²² Most of the treaties came to naught. The Indians as a whole either refused to treat with the American authorities or delayed, or repudiated actions formerly accepted as final. Then there were clashes between National and State authorities. Independent agreements which only intensified difficulties can be cited without number. See *State Department Documents*, Wilson and Rinkin to St. Clair, July 29, 1788.

When the Ordinance of 1787 was enacted provision was also made for the French people farther west who had acquired lands and had built homes prior to the Peace of Paris that had closed the Revolutionary War in 1783. With the coming of the Associates came also many adventurers and homeseekers who squatted on desirable tracts in this vicinity but they had no deeds to the property acquired by them in this way. Cahokia, a mission and a trading post founded in La Salle's time (1683) and Kaskaskia founded by Marquette in 1673 and consisting of some seventy houses with Mission of the Immaculate Conception in the midst, and Post Vincennes were the principal centers of the French population. Here the Indians and their neighbors lived in quiet harmony due in large measure to the civilizing influence of the Catholic religion and to the labors and sacrifices of zealous and kind missionaries.

Conditions were not so ideal when the land grabbers made their appearance and General Harmar was sent to the Illinois country to warn these insolent invaders to secure titles elsewhere and to evacuate this portion of the Territory immediately.²³

The male population, principally the heads of families, numbered five hundred and twenty men at Vincennes; one hundred and ninety men at Kaskaskia, and two hundred and thirty-nine at Cahokia. There were other French families thinly scattered throughout the country outside the villages and it is estimated that in all these out-post settlements there were about four thousand five hundred people.²⁴

The American settlers who came into the French district since the Clark expedition of 1786 were considerable; they numbered two hundred and forty adult males as against ten hundred and forty French of the same class.²⁵ So troublesome were some of these newcomers that both the Creoles and the Indians became so exasperated that they sent petitions to Congress setting forth their grievances. They had frequently provisioned the garrisons but had received not one dollar of pay. The militia spent much of their time in rioting and other excesses. They respected not the live stock of their neighbors and wantonly shot down cattle as a diversion to try their marksmanship. The French sought from Congress a definite grant of land amounting to five hundred acres so they might have a legal title to show when squatters encroached on their lands.²⁶

²³ *State Dept. Documents*, Vol. 2, No. 150, Harmar to Le Grasse and Busseron, June 29, 1787.

²⁴ *State Dept. Documents*, No. 48, p. 165.

²⁵ *State Dept. Documents*, No. 48, p. 165.

²⁶ *State Dept. Documents*, No. 48, Memorial of the French inhabitants of Post

In answer to these memorials General Harmar took possession of Vincennes and the Illinois towns. He sided with the French and Indians, and bitterly denounced the frontiersmen who were causing all the trouble. The garrison previously manned by Clark at Vincennes was regarded by Harmar as "a set of lawless banditti." The correct judgment and favorable attitude of the General greatly pleased the French and they expressed their gratitude in several letters; on the other hand the Americans were filled with "anxiety, gloom and dismay." They protested against the withdrawal of their property rights, saying that they had settled on the disputed lands in good faith and frequently with the approval of the French villagers themselves. When questioned on these points closely, the Creoles bore testimony in favor of the American frontiersmen.²⁷ Finally harmony was established, the French retained their ancient rights and privileges and the Americans received regular grants of land and became more amenable to the law when settlements became numerous. This harmony was created not from choice but from necessity.

The Indians everywhere in the face of the on-coming hordes grew daily more and more uncontrollable and treacherous. They dogged every party of homeseekers that came near their haunts. The war bands filled the forests day and night. They hid in the thickets and behind huge trees along the Ohio River and shot down the unsuspecting traveller on their way to their peaceful abodes in the wilderness or even killed the soldiery on guard when not outnumbered. Many a frontiersman was killed trying to protect his home and property by the cruel blood thirsty savages in ambush.

"The books of the annalists," says Roosevelt, "are filled with tales of disaster and retribution, of horrible suffering and of fierce prowess. Countless stories are told of heroic service and panic rout; of midnight assaults on lonely cabins, and ambush of heavy laden immigrant seows; of the death of brave men and cowards, and the dreadful butchery of women and children; of bloody raids and revengeful counter stroke."

In the wars of the savages in the Ohio country the Associates and others met a strong foe that tried their hearts of steel and not until the hostile spirit of the Indians was broken and vanquished by the

Vincennes, Kaskaskia, La Prairie du Rocher, Cahokia and the Village of St. Philip to Congress, by Tardiveau, New York, Feb. 26, 1788.

²⁷ *State Dept. Documents*, Vol. 2, No. 150. Address of American inhabitants of Vincennes, August, 4, 1797; Recommendation by French inhabitants in favor of American inhabitants, August 2; Letter of Le Chamy and others; Kaskaskia, August 25; Letter of J. M. P. Le Gras, June 25.

generalship of Mad Anthony Wayne some years afterwards, were the inhabitants of these lands secure in the possession of that vast and fertile region of the Middle West that now constitutes the heart of the American Republic.

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Note.—Several of the documents quoted at length are taken from letters and other authoritative information appearing in the newspapers of New York, Philadelphia and Boston and their vicinities between 1784-1789. See fuller note as to origin in the January, 1926, issue of the ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, vol. viii., number 3.

THE FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF ST. LOUIS*

In the recorded story of St. Louis four outstanding facts are written across the opening page, each making instant appeal to the historical imagination.

First, on or about July 4, 1673, James Marquette and Louis Joliet, fresh from their epoch-making discovery of the Mississippi at Prairie du Chien, glided in their frail canoes past the limestone bluff on which St. Louis was to rise in later years. Their eyes, eager to catch the physical features of either bank, rested no doubt at intervals on the terrain of the future city, which on this occasion made its first recorded acquaintance, however passing, with civilized man. Secondly, on December 7, 1698, the chevalier, Henri de Tonti, La Salle's gallant lieutenant and a foremost figure in the story of Western exploration, having come down from Quebec with a party of missionaries, set foot somewhere within the limits of present-day St. Louis, probably at or near the foot of Arsenal Street. On the morrow, December 8, the three missionary-priests, all of the Society of Foreign Missions of Quebec, their names, de Montigny, Davion and St. Cosme, celebrated mass, after which the party moved across the river to negotiate with the Tamaroa Indians for the planting of a Christian mission in their village, the Cahokia of later days. The incident of the religious services of December 8, 1698, the earliest known to have taken place on ground now occupied by the metropolis of the Southwest, has been put on record by one of the participants, St. Cosme, in his letter of January 2, 1699, a classic in the literature of early Western travel.

Thirdly, some time in the closing months of 1700 the Kaskaskia Indians, having abandoned their village on the Illinois River, where Marquette had set up among them his mission of the Immaculate Conception, the earliest outpost of Christian civilization in the Mississippi Valley, found a new home at the mouth of the Des Peres River, the southern boundary of St. Louis. Certain documentary

* Practically all available information regarding the course of events in the Des Peres village is to be found in the letters of the Reverend Mr. Marc Bergier, of the Seminary of Quebec, pastor at Cahokia from 1700 to his death. For access to this valuable correspondence the writer is indebted to the very great courtesy of the Right Rev. Mgr. A. E. Gosselin, P.A., Archivist and one-time Rector of Laval University, Quebec.

indications point to this settlement having been made on the north side of the river, in a locality therefore, within the present limits of the city. Here then through some two years and a half, the historic Kaskaskia Mission was maintained, Indians and French living side by side and sharing the religious ministrations of Jesuit missionaries.

Fourthly, on February 14, 1764, Auguste Chouteau, under a commission from Pierre Liguette Laclède, author of the project, landed with a party of Frenchmen at or in the immediate neighborhood of what is now the foot of Walnut Street in St. Louis, and proceeded at once to lay out a trading-post, with all the conventional adjuncts of a French colonial settlement of the period. It was the actual historical beginning of St. Louis of today, nor does any previous occupation of the site by white men prejudice the claim made for Laclède and his youthful lieutenant that they are the city's authentic and indisputable founders.

Of these four capital historical landmarks that lead up to the municipal origins of St. Louis, the third will engage our attention for the moment as being a recent addition of fascinating import to the city's previously recorded history. Moses Austin, in a memoir of his Western travels of 1796-97 noted the local tradition of a mission or settlement in the neighborhood of the Des Peres, "the Fathers' River." However, Houck's History of Missouri, the classic authority on the subject, appearing as late as 1908, could present no direct evidence confirmatory of the tradition. It was only in 1919 that the missing documentary evidence was supplied by Professor Laurence J. Kenny, S. J., in a searching monograph devoted to the problem.¹ Since then further researches in the Quebec archives and elsewhere have thrown additional light on the Des Peres River settlement which now emerges from the mists of mere tradition into the clear atmosphere of ascertained historical fact. As to the documentary evidence brought to bear upon the problem, no attempt can be made to set it forth in this brief contribution. Substantially, this evidence is derived from two main sources: (1) Certain contemporary letters disclosing the existence of a French-Indian village two leagues below Cahokia on the opposite side of the Mississippi; and, (2) contemporary maps in the National Library of Paris, notably De Lisle's of 1703.

In the spring of 1699, the Sieur d' Iberville, having opened a direct route from France to the Mississippi, established at Biloxi, near

¹ *St. Louis Catholic Historical Review*, April, 1919.

the mouth of the great waterway, the first French post in Lower Louisiana. It was apparently this event that tempted the Kaskaskia of the Illinois River to move south in the hope presumably of finding there military protection from their enemies. Father James Gravier, Superior of the Jesuit Missions of the Illinois, on his way from Chicago to the mouth of the Mississippi, arrived among the Kaskaskia in the mid-September of 1700, to late, as he writes, to prevent the Indians' departure. Together with Father Gabriel Marest, resident Jesuit pastor of the tribe, Father Gravier journeyed with the Kaskaskia for four days, after which the two missionaries went on ahead to the Tamaroa village on the site of the present Cahokia. Here Father Marest, who had fallen sick, remained, while Father Gravier, on October 8, pursued his journey south. Later, most probably before the end of 1700, the Kaskaskia, moving down the Mississippi, decided to halt at the outlet of the Des Peres River and there take up at least a temporary residence. A fort was built and many of the French residents of the Tamaroa village hastened over to throw in their lot with the new settlement. Father Marest resumed his functions as pastor of the Kaskaskia Indians, and, except for a missionary excursion or two to Peoria, remained with them until their departure from the Des Peres. Later came Fathers John Bori and Francis Pinet. A lay-helper, Brother Francis Guibert, was also on the missionary-staff. On leaving Chicago early in 1700, Father Pinet had first settled in Cahokia, where he ministered with great success to the Indians. Then, on or about June 15, 1702, he shifted his residence to the Des Peres village under the circumstances we shall narrate.

By a grant of powers from the Bishop of Quebec the Jesuit missionaries had been authorized to evangelize the Illinois tribes, among which were generally classed the Tamaroa and Cahokia. However, this grant, at least as far as it concerned the Tamaroa, was apparently annulled by a concession of similar tenor issued at a later date by the Bishop of Quebec in favor of the Seminary priests (Society of the Foreign Missions of Quebec). The Jesuits made bold to question the legality or at least propriety of the procedure and appealed for a decision to the French King, Louis XIV. A far cry indeed from the heart of the American wilderness to the gilded splendors of Versailles. Later, however, the Jesuit superiors in Paris withdrew their protest and instructed their missionaries in distant Cahokia to retire from that field of labor.

On June 10, 1702, a thrill of excitement ran through the Des Peres village as a flotilla of ten canoes, which had come up from the

Gulf of Mexico, put in at the river bank. In the party of Frenchmen was Father Gravier, who brought with him in the Paris mail the long awaited instructions on the vexed question of Cahokia. Father Pinet was at once summoned from the other side of the river and told to give up his work among the Indians in that quarter. This he promptly did. He called a meeting of his Indian converts, at which he invited Father Bergier, the Seminary priest, to be present, and in a stirring address urged them to follow faithfully the lead of their new pastor. Then followed a feast, after which Father Pinet delivered the church records to his successor and departed for the Des Peres, the day being approximately June 14, 1702.

One would gladly follow the course of events in the French-Indian village on the Missouri side; but the incidents of its recorded history are lamentably few. Father Borie set out from there in the summer of 1701 on a missionary excursion to the Sioux of the Upper Mississippi. The explorer Le Sueur had furnished the funds. But Borie's canoe was wrecked some fifty miles up the river and he returned to the Des Peres without attempting again to reach the Upper Mississippi. Father Marest also planned a Sioux excursion which likewise proved abortive; and he hoped to accompany in the capacity of chaplain d'Iberville's gold-seekers on their proposed expedition to the Spanish Southwest. Letters from his pen, it may be noted, went out at intervals from the Des Peres to distant Paris. Two of these may still be read, the earliest correspondence that we know of as issuing from the territory which has since become Missouri.

Perhaps the incident that looms largest in the meagre chronicles of our almost prehistoric village was the desertion to it of a part of the Tamaroa Indians. Rouensa, the Kaskaskia chief, offered every inducement to the Tamaroa and Cahokia to move across the river to his new settlement. Presents were not wanting, five hundred pounds of powder and "a cask when the French shall have come up from the sea." Father Bergier, to hold his Indians, had to lay before them counter-attractions, "a kettle, four pounds of powder, a pound of colored glass-beads, four boxes of vermilion and a dozen knives." Long Neck, the Tamaroa chief, set before his people the charms of the Kaskaskia village, which had won for itself among the Indians the alluring soubriquet of "The Land of Life." On the other hand Chickagoua, another Tamaroa chief, showed himself indifferent on the question of the hour and declared it was all one to him whether his tribesmen went or stayed. In the end only a third of the Tamaroa, some twelve cabins, with their chief, presumably Long Neck,

moved to the Des Peres. A much larger number had no doubt been expected, as one day in April, 1701, Rouensa sent as many as twenty-three pirogues to bring the Indians over from Cahokia. Whether the rest of the tribe eventually followed the third that migrated cannot be ascertained. At all events, it is significant that an unpublished map in the National Library, Paris, indicates the Tamaroa village as being at this period on the west side of the Mississippi below Cahokia.

The Indian chapel at the mouth of the Des Peres was the first house of worship erected within the limits of Missouri. Its pastors, Fathers Pinet and Marest, are fascinating figures in that very fascinating period of Mississippi valley history, the French occupation. At Mackinac, Pinet had incurred the displeasure of the irascible Codillae by denouncing roundly from the pulpit the traffic in strong drink and the resulting ruin to his Indian flock. At Chicago in or about 1696 he set up for his Miami converts the first chapel in the history of the city, on a site probably just outside the loop-district at the fork of the river. At Cahokia his chapel was taxed beyond capacity by the number of natives that came to the services, for on the testimony of his successor at that post, Father Bergier, he spoke the Indian language perfectly, and better than the Indians themselves. Father Pinet died at the Des Peres village August 1, 1702, the funeral services being conducted by Father Bergier.

Father Gabriel Marest began his missionary career in the Hudson Bay region where he was taken prisoner by the English and carried to England. On his release from Plymouth, at the conclusion of a treaty between the English and French, he returned to the New World where he devoted the rest of his days to service among the Kaskaskia Indians. He was with them in their three successive settlements on the Illinois, the Des Peres and the Kaskaskia Rivers. To this last home of their he accompanied them in the spring of 1703. For this is the date we must assign to the passing of the French-Indian village at the Des Peres. With the migration of the Indians and their pastor further south, the French settlers also apparently moved away and in no long time every vestige of the settlement had utterly disappeared. There survived only a dim memory of it, lasting down the years as a vague tradition which research has only recently verified and placed on a basis of actual fact.

In the month of November, 1925, the municipality of Chicago set up commemorative tablets on the pylons at either end of the majestic boulevard bridge that spans the river at a point not far from the probable site of Father Pinet's historic chapel of two and a quarter

centuries ago. One tablet bears the names of Marquette and Jolliet; the other, those of LaSalle and De Tonti. With these same names, St. Louis has associations also, though in less significant ways than Chicago. When shall we rear fitting memorials to these and other outstanding figures that lend the glamor of their imperishable careers to the dawn of our municipal history? For the ground we daily tread stood, not aside from, but mid-stream in the currents of high adventure and romantic achievement that flowed with surprising volume through the Valley of the Mississippi in the days of the fleur-de-lis.

GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN, S. J.

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MARQUETTE'S BURIAL SITE LOCATED

A thorough examination of all the evidence available makes it certain that Father Marquette died at the mouth of the Pere Marquette River near the present city of Ludington, Michigan.

The evidence is found in history, cartography, tradition and personal observation of local landmarks. But while searching the evidence for the above conclusion one is forced to conclude further that the mouth of the Pere Marquette River is not now (1926) where it was when Marquette died in 1675. I think, however, that sufficient data has been assembled here to reveal the old river channel of 1675; and approximately, too, the exact spot where Marquette died near the river's mouth.

Of all the history bearing on the subject the oldest and most reliable is the contemporary account of Marquette's death given by his religious superior, Father Claude Dablon, S. J., in the *Jesuit Relations*. I quote from the *Relations*, omitting those parts that are irrelevant:

JESUIT RELATIONS CONTAIN ACCOUNT OF PRIEST'S DEATH

"Thus did he (Marquette) converse with them (his two French companions) as they made their way upon the Lake (Michigan) until having perceived a river, on the shore of which stood an eminence that he deemed well suited to be the place of his interment, he told them that that was the place of his last repose. They wished, however, to proceed farther, as the weather was favorable, and the day was not far advanced; but God raised a contrary wind, which compelled them to return and enter the river which the father had pointed out. They accordingly brought him to the land, lighted a little fire, and prepared for him a wretched cabin of bark. They laid him down therein in the least uncomfortable way they could—and the father being thus stretched on the ground in much the same way as was St. Francis Xavier, with a countenance beaming and all aglow, expired without any struggle."

If I had nothing more than this contemporary narrative in the text of the *Relations* we might search in vain for the place where Marquette died. For on the west shore of the lower peninsula of Michigan there are many rivers flowing into the lake. And at the mouths of the most of them are quiet harbors which would tempt the dying boatman to seek therein his "last repose." But in the old

Relations manuscript there is a marginal note which says that the river near which Marquette died "now bears the father's name." And Reuben Gold Thwaites, who compiled and edited the *Jesuit Relations* in seventy-two volumes, explains in a footnote to the *Relation* narrative that the river bank on which Marquette died was near the "mouth of the Marquette River, near the site of the present city of Ludington."

WRITINGS OF CHARLEVOIX GIVE SPECIFIC INFORMATION

Forty-six years after the death of Marquette another important record of that event was written by a well known Jesuit priest and historian, Father Pierre Francois Xavier de Charlevoix, S. J. Charlevoix was sent to America in 1720 by the French king, Louis XV, to gather materials for a history of New France. He has left two accounts of Marquette's death; one in his *Journal* written in 1721; and the other in his *History of New France* which appeared in 1744. Both accounts may be considered as of 1721, for it was in that year that the author visited the death scene of Marquette and gathered his information about it. The account given in the *History of New France* was written twenty-three years after the other, but we will consider it first because it is brief and need not detain us long. The *History of New France* was translated into English by John G. Shea, a century and a quarter after the appearance of the French original. In Shea's translation the reference to Marquette's death is rendered thus: "Sinking rapidly he died May 18, 1675, while endeavoring to reach Michilimackinac. His comrades buried him at the lake shore, at the mouth of a river, which thenceforth took his name." In a footnote to this brief narrative Shea cautions the reader against the inaccuracies of Charlevoix here and in his *Journal*. He blames the French Jesuit for trusting too much to tradition and "neglecting the archives of his order in Quebec, Paris and Rome."

—Et idem

Indignor quandoque bonus dormitat Homerus;
At opere longo fas est obrepere somnum.

There are inaccuracies in Charlevoix enough to justify the censures of the "Father of American Catholic History." But the words quoted above are remarkably accurate. The French author even gives the correct date of Marquette's death, a detail which is confused in the text of the *Relations*. And we are grateful to Charlevoix for those other words: "His comrades buried him by the lake shore, at the mouth of a river which thenceforth took his name."

But in his *Journal of a Voyage to America*, written in 1721, twenty-three years before the *History of New France*, Charlevoix has left a much more detailed account of the circumstances of Marquette's death. In the passage which I shall quote the French Jesuit is sailing southward along the eastern coast of Lake Michigan from Michilimackinac to the St. Joseph River at the southeastern shore of the lake. He lands here and there for rest and observation.

Anyone who has even a passing acquaintance with the eastern shore of Lake Michigan—its sand dunes, harbors, lakes, and rivers as they are today will find a charming simplicity and accuracy in these descriptions of Charlevoix penned over two hundred years ago. Though the passage is lengthy I shall quote it fully for it has a most important bearing upon our subject. But as I shall omit the irrelevant portions I would urge the reader to study the entire twenty-second letter of Charlevoix in the second volume of Kellogg's translation from which I quote:

"On the first of August (1721) I left on my right the Beaver Islands, and some leagues farther on the left I perceived, on a sandy eminence, a kind of grove or thicket which when you are abreast of it has the figure of an animal lying down. The French call this the Sleeping and the Indians the Crouching Bear. I advanced twenty leagues this day. On the third day of August I entered the river of Father Marquette in order to examine whether what I had been told of it was true. This is, at first entering it, no more than a brook; but fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan one would imagine that a great hummock which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through; and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket shot; afterwards all of a sudden it rises to a very great height. It had actually been represented to me as such, and on that head the following is the constant tradition of all our travelers, and what ancient missionaries have told me.

"As he was going from Chicagu, to Michilimackinac, he entered, on the 18th day of May, 1675, the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground which I have already taken notice you leave on the right hand as you enter.

ACCOUNT OF DEATH

"Here he erected his altar and said Mass. He went afterwards to a small distance in order to render thanks, and begged the two men that conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour. This

time having passed they went to seek him and were surprised to find him dead. They call to mind, however, that on entering the river he had let drop an expression that he should end his days at this place. However, as it was too far to carry his body from thence to Michilimackinac, they buried him near the bank of the river which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape, the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened for itself a new passage.

"I have not been able to learn, or else I have forgot, the name this river formerly bore, but at this day the Indians always call it the River of the Black Robe, for thus the Indians term the Jesuits. The French call this river Father Marquette's river, and never fail to call upon him when they are in any danger on Lake Michigan. Several of them have affirmed that they believed themselves indebted to his intercession for having escaped very great dangers."

In these words of Father Charlevoix we have the solution of many doubts that have haunted the death scene of Father Marquette for two centuries and a half. We shall refer to the quotation again and again.

But now we would remove all doubt from the assertion that Marquette died at the mouth of the Pere Marquette River near the present city of Ludington, Michigan. It must be remembered that like Father Marquette, Charlevoix was a French Jesuit. He wrote his *Journal* during this voyage in 1721, forty-six years after the death of Marquette. Charlevoix was then thirty-nine years old and he must have spoken in France and America with some of those who had labored with Marquette in the Canadian Missions. In fact, he says that, in that year, 1721, he entered the river of West Michigan, then called after Father Marquette, "in order to examine whether what he had been told of it was true." And, again, he speaks familiarly of "The constant tradition of all our travelers and what ancient missionaries have told me."

JESUIT MAKES TOUR

Precious indeed is the evidences of such a Jesuit priest and historian written forty-six years after the death of Marquette upon entering the Marquette River "in order to examine whether what he had been told of it was true." He sailed for two days, he says, a distance of over twenty leagues southward from the promontary called Sleeping Bear, before reaching the mouth of the Marquette River. That is the exact distance from the Sleeping Bear Point to Ludington, about seventy miles.

Describing the mouth of the Pere Marquette River, Charlevoix says there was a "great hummock" to the left as you enter, and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket shot; and afterwards all of a sudden it rises to a very great height." These landmarks given by Charlevoix may be verified by anyone who visits the Pere Marquette River today. We were at Ludington on December 11, 1926, and can testify that the hummock and the high bluff rising abruptly, are still there; and between them is the low sandbar "for the space of a good musket shot" from the old rifle of 1721. Again Charlevoix says that about fifteen paces up the river from its mouth "you enter a lake which is near two leagues in circuit."

The distance from the river's mouth to the inner lake could not have been more than fifteen paces in 1721, though now it is over 1,200 feet owing to the widening of the sandbar by deposits brought in by the waves of Lake Michigan from the west and by the current of Pere Marquette lake and river from the east.

The dimensions of the inner lake as given by Charlevoix, "nearly two leagues in circuit," are correct approximately even now. And a history of Mason County, Michigan, published in 1882, says that Pere Marquette lake is two miles long and about three-quarters of a mile wide.

These two records of the death scene of Father Marquette, one written by Dablon in the *Jesuit Relations*, and the other in Charlevoix's *Journal*, are the two prime sources of our information on this topic. Too much importance cannot be given to the account in the *Relations*. It was written at the time of Marquette's death, and by Marquette's religious superior, who got his details from the two Frenchmen who had accompanied Marquette on his last voyage, attended him at his death, and then made their repora at Michilimackinac and finally at Quebec. It is much to be regretted, however, that the contemporary narrative of Father Dablon is not more detailed and specific. Father Charlevoix's account may be considered contemporary also. It was written only forty-six years after Dablon's narrative and by one who had been closely associated with those who knew Father Marquette. At any rate Charlevoix's narrative may be considered a source spring in itself, although a spring whose waters have been increased maybe by seepage from the Dablon fountain. For Charlevoix, though "trusting much to tradition," was an independent writer, gifted with a power of accurate observation and description. And even Shea blames him for "neglecting the archives of his Order in Quebec, Paris, and Rome."

AUTHORS VARY

Including Charlevoix and the *Jesuit Relations* I have read sixteen accounts of the death scene of Father Marquette by as many different authors. They will be found in the bibliography at the end of this essay. And I may say here that the later writers follow either the *Relation* narrative or that of Charlevoix. And, furthermore, I may say that of the sixteen historians cited, fourteen locate the death scene of Marquette at the mouth of the Pere Marquette River near Ludington and the other two, we shall find, are obviously in error. And so we might rest the truth of our first assertion on the evidence already cited. But some of the later historians while following the sources generally have set up sign posts of their own also; and some of these signs have helped to guide us to Marquette's first grave while others have led us astray.

Bancroft's account of Marquette's death is substantially the one found in Charlevoix. But Bancroft concludes his narrative with this telling sentence: "The people of the West will build his monument." That brief prophetic remark of the great American historian has been a challenge to every reader of Bancroft for eighty years now to learn more about the Jesuit Jacques Marquette and fitly honor his memory.

Shea had been a Jesuit and he had access both to the *Relation* account and that of Charlevoix. But Shea, in his lucid, scholarly manner, summoned tradition also to guide us to Marquette's first burial place. He says that the river on whose bank Marquette died "had long been called after the father, but from recent maps the name seems to have been forgotten. Its Indian name is Notispescago, and according to others, Aniniondibeganining."

The quotation is from *The Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, a book written by Shea in 1852. In a map of "Michigan and part of Wisconsin Territory," published in 1839 by David H. Burr, geographer to the United States house of Representatives, the river which flowed into Lake Michigan at the site of Ludington was still marked "Pere Marquette," and so the neglect of the name must have been of recent origin when Shea wrote. Shea says that the Indian name for the Pere Marquette River was Notispescago without explaining its meaning.

HISTORY OF COUNTY USED

Through the kindness of Warren A. Cartier of Ludington, the Alpha Sigma Tau committee while visiting that city recently had access to a large, anonymous History of Mason County. In that history we read: "The Indian name of the lake and river afterwards

named Pere Marquette was Notapekagon, meaning, a river with heads on sticks. Making due allowance for the variable Indian orthography, this name is undoubtedly the same as that given by Shea. And going on to explain the origin of the name, the "History of Mason County" says: "Very many years ago an encampment of Indians on the lake was nearly exterminated by a band of Ptotawotamie Indians coming from the south. The heads of the slain were severed from their bodies and placed on sticks. Hence the name."

And it is worth noting that on a map of Michigan published as late as 1911 in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, the name written on the river at Ludington is "Notepseakan" while the lake at its mouth is marked "Pere Marquette." Shea gives another Indian name for the river, namely Aniniondibeganining. With apologies to the printer I reproduce a similar name from the "History of Mason County," namely, "Nindebekatunning" which means "a place of skulls." It was the name applied to the old Indian village on the site of Ludington and had reference to the Indian burying ground there.

The "History of Mason County" already cited opens with a worthy tribute to the early Jesuits for their labors in the Northwest. Then it goes on to describe the labors of Father Marquette in particular. And the narrative is so corroborative of what we have read above that I quote some of its pertinent passages. After tracing Marquette on his travels to his last homeward voyage up the east coast of Lake Michigan, the author continues: "He felt that the seal of death was upon him, and that his last hour was rapidly approaching. He told his companions that he was soon to leave them; and as they were passing the mouth of the river that now bears his name, he asked the men to land.

"Tenderly they bore him to the bank of the stream and constructed a shed of bark for his shelter, upon the bank of the river and near the waters of the great lake they dug his grave, as he had directed; and then pursued their way to Michilimackinac. This was on the 18th day of May, 1675."

MISLEADING GUIDE POST

Thus far I have considered only the signs that lead with certainty to Marquette's first grave. Now I must warn the reader against one erring guide post and interpret another one which is rather puzzling.

On Jan. 31, 1855, Judge John Law of Evansville, Ind., gave an interesting address in Cincinnati. His subject was: "Jesuit Missionaries in the Northwest." In the course of his lecture Judge Law

rehearsed the story of Father Marquette's death substantially as told in Charlevoix's "Journal." The address was printed a few years later in the Wisconsin Historical Collections with a footnote by Judge Law which says: "According to the map of Charlevoix, accompanying his 'histoire de la Nouvelle France,' 1744, the location of the 'Riviere die P. Marquette' is placed farther north than it is on the recent maps of Michigan; and it is the third river south of 'Bay die Traverse,' known on the modern maps as 'Riviere au Betsies.'" The judge is entirely mistaken. Every statement made in his note is wrong. And the note itself should be entirely demolished for it is an erring guide-post fastened onto the narrative of Charlevoix.

It has served to discredit and confound the narrative of the historian of New France and is a will-o'-the-wisp to those who search for the first grave of Marquette.

A copy of the map to which Judge Law refers may be found in the sixth volume of the "History of New France" as translated by Shea. On that map the mouth of the Pere Marquette river is about five miles south of the 44th degree north latitude; and that is just where it is on the modern maps. It is not quite clear what Judge Law meant to say in the second part of his note. If he meant that the river now called Betsey was marked Marquette on Charlevoix's map, I invite the reader to look and see. Both rivers—the Betsey and the Pere Marquette—are marked on Charlevoix's map and given their proper relative location. He could not mean that the "Bay du Traverse" is known in modern maps as the river of "Betsies" for on modern maps as well as in that of Charlevoix the two bodies of water are located and marked separately. If Mr. Law meant that the Pere Marquette river is the third river south of the Bay of Traverse he is partly right and partly wrong.

On Charlevoix's map the Pere Marquette is the third river traced and marked south of the Traverse bay, but why confound it with the River of Betsies when on modern maps as well as on that of Charlevoix the two rivers are traced and marked separately? If Judge Law meant to say that the Pere Marquette is the third river which the traveler meets in going southward from the Bay of Traverse, he is wrong again, for any sailor on the lakes will tell him today what Charlevoix long ago wrote in his Journal, that at "nearly every league along the eastern shore of Lake Michigan you find some river or large riverlet." A distance of over twenty leagues separates the mouth of the Marquette river from that of the Bay of Traverse.

I can understand, though, how Judge Law was deceived by Charlevoix's map. The names of the rivers and bays on the eastern shore

of Lake Michigan are in wretchedly small type and it is difficult to read some of them even with the aid of a powerful magnifier. But the "R. du P. Marquette" is clearly marked and traced in its proper latitude.

RIVER BED DETERMINED

There is another map of new France in the first volume of the *Jesuit Relations*, and on this map the Pere Marquette river is again marked correctly with its mouth about five miles south of the forty-fourth degree latitude. I have referred before to Burrs' map of 1839 on which the Pere Marquette is also marked and located accurately. I have examined two other very ancient maps of New France and both of them name and locate the Pere Marquette river correctly. One of these—Franquelin's Great Map of 1688—will be found in Kellogg's "Early Narratives of the Northwest"; the other is in Le Clerq's book entitled "The First Establishment of the Faith in New France," published in 1691 and translated by John G. Shea.

And I have found no record in history cartography or tradition that the Betsey river was ever called after Father Marquette while all the reliable records available trace the noted Jesuit missionary explorer to his last repose near Ludington at the mouth of the Pere Marquette river.

Parkman's account of the death of Father Marquette is found in his book "La Salle and the Discovery of the Great West," published in 1869. The narrative is a faithful synopsis of that quoted above from the *Jesuit Relations*. But Parkman must have read Charlevoix too, for he blames him for trusting more to tradition than to the contemporary narrative; while he himself apparently trusting neither history nor tradition proceeds to guide us to Marquette's first grave by vague and puzzling signs of his own. Like Judge Law, Parkman betrays a strange fondness for Charlevoix's Sleeping Bear. In a footnote he says: "The river where he (Marquette) died is a small stream in the west of Michigan, some distance south of the promontary called the Sleeping Bear. It long bore his name which is now borne by a larger neighboring stream."

These are loose expressions. We have seen already that Father Marquette died at the mouth of the Marquette river. Now the mouth of the Pere Marquette river is about seventy miles south of the promontary called Sleeping Bear. That is some distance!

The other expression used by Parkman is also misleading. It conveys the impression that when Parkman wrote in 1869, there were two neighboring streams flowing into Lake Michigan, a larger and a

smaller one; that by 1869 the larger stream had taken the name Marquette which had long been borne by the smaller stream, which though nameless, still continued to flow. Parkman seems to be puzzled here. At least his narrative is puzzling.

RIVER COURSE CHANGED

The key to the puzzle is this:

In the year 1859, ten years before Parkman wrote, a miller of Ludington named Charles Mears, for the better accommodation of his sawmill dug the present wider and deeper channel for the outlet of the Pere Marquette river about a mile north of where the old channel was. The old channel was then filled up and abandoned and its name has since been borne by the "larger neighboring stream."

To Parkman, however, we are indebted for one of the most reliable of the old Indian traditions concerning the death scene of Marquette. He says: "In 1847 the missionary of the Algonquins at the Lake of the Two Mountains above Montreal wrote down a tradition of the death of Marquette from the lips of an old Indian woman born in 1777 at Michilichimac. Her ancestors had been baptized by the subject of the story. The old squaw said that the Jesuit was returning very ill to Michilimackinac, when a storm forced him and his two men to land near a little river. Here he told them that he should die, and directed them to ring a bell over his grave and plant a cross.

"They all remained four days at the spot. On the night of the fourth day he died and the men buried him as he had directed. On awakening in the morning they saw the stream begin to rise, and in a few moments encircled the grave of the Jesuit, which formed thenceforth an islet in the waters. The priest of the Two Mountains attested this story as a faithful literal account of the tradition told by the old woman."

Before narrating this story, Parkman had blamed Charlevoix for trusting more to tradition than to the contemporary narrative. And while telling the story he took another fling at the French historian, saying "the tradition has a resemblance to that related as fact by Charlevoix." But Parkman undoubtedly introduced the story because of the light it throws on the death scene of Marquette. And that is the reason why I reproduce it here. In that particular the tradition is in remarkable accord with the contemporary narrative.

As for the sudden, miraculous changing of the river bed narrated by the old woman, I am confident that neither Charlevoix nor the priest who attested the story nor Parkman himself put any credence in that. Anyone who is familiar with the eastern shore of Lake

Michigan knows that the action of the elements of wind, wave, water, frost, ice and river current, is sufficient to change the river channels without any recourse to the supernatural. And so the evidence makes it certain that Father Marquette died at the mouth of the Pere Marquette river near Ludington on May 18, 1675.

OLD RESIDENTS INFORM

But where was the mouth of the Pere Marquette river in 1675? Charles Mears, we said, changed the river channel in 1859. That change is recorded in the History of Mason County. The change was made within living memory and a vivid diagram drawn by Alan Hoxie on the way to Ludington made it clear to the other members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee where to look for the old and new channel.

In 1858 when Mears began to dig the present channel, the old river bed was just north of the high bluff. This we know from the History of Mason County. On page 31 it gives an interesting account of the shipwreck of a mailman in 1855 while crossing the ferry over the Marquette river. And incidentally it says that the ferry at that time was just north of the high bluff.

Some of the old residents of Ludington still remember the old channel. And one of these—Mrs. Dardleska C. Hull—told the members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee on Dec. 11, 1926 that the channel before Mears changed it was close to the foot of the high bluff about a mile southwest of Ludington. Mrs. Hull has lived near Ludington for seventy-six years and was nine years old when she settled there. The members of the committee accompanied by Father Golden of Ludington had a delightful interview with this youthful old lady. The infirmities of age are creeping upon her but her memory and other mental faculties are still unimpaired. The bluff of which we have just spoken is the highest point on the Michigan coast just southwest of Ludington.

And that fact together with Mrs. Hull's story had tempted the members of the committee to recommend the bluff as the site for the Marquette monument. It was near the old river mouth and would attract the boatsmen approaching Ludington from the south. It seemed to the committee that it answered to the "eminence near the river's mouth" which, according to the contemporary relation Marquette himself had chosen as the place for his burial. A monument there would be conspicuous indeed. But it would not mark the place where Marquette died.

NEW EVIDENCE FOUND

Since their return from Ludington the committee has come upon other evidence which has turned them definitely away from the high bluff. For this new evidence makes it clear that the river's mouth, though near the bluff in 1858, was not there in 1675. It is not necessary to follow the shifting sands of the bar at Ludington nor to trace the channel of the Pere Marquette river through all its probable changes. But we must find the river channel which Marquette entered in 1675.

Where was the mouth of the Pere Marquette river in 1675? It was not then where it was forty-six years later. When Charlevoix entered the river in 1721 the channel was at the foot of the high bluff. For Charlevoix says: "They buried him near the bank of the river, which from that time has retired by degrees, as out of respect to his remains, as far as the cape (bluff) the foot of which it now washes, and where it has opened for itself a new passage." And so during the forty-six years that elapsed between the burial of Marquette and the visit of Charlevoix, the river had opened for itself a new channel to the south of the old one "at the foot of the bluff."

Possibly there were other changes of channel during the one hundred and thirty-seven years that elapsed between the visit of Charlevoix and 1858 when the river also washed the foot of the bluff. But in such changes we are not interested.

Where was the mouth of the Pere Marquette river in 1675? Reflect once more on these pertinent extracts from Charlevoix's Journal: "On the 3rd of August (1721) I entered the river of Father Marquette in order to examine what I had been told of it was true. In order to make way for its discharge into Lake Michigan one would imagine that a great hummock which you leave on the left as you enter, had been dug through; and on the right the coast is very low for the space of a good musket shot; afterwards, all of a sudden, it rises to a very great height.

It had actually been represented to me as such, and on this head the following is the constant tradition of all our travelers, and what ancient missionaries have told me. On the 18th day of May, 1675, he entered the river in question, the mouth of which was then at the extremity of the low ground which as I have already taken notice, you leave on the right hand as you enter. After half an hour they were surprised to find him dead. They buried him near the bank of the river which from that time has retired by degrees as far as the cape the foot of which it now washes."

For the sake of clearness it should be noted that Charlevoix enters the new channel in 1721, but examines and describes the old channel of 1675. He came to examine the old channel, "to see whether what he had been told of it was true." And when he has observed and described the old channel he adds: "It had actually been represented to me as such."

INDIAN TALES REVEAL

In his description Charlevoix gives three great landmarks which locate the old channel of 1675 exactly. The river seemed to have cut its way through a "great hummock" which you leave on the left as you enter; to the right was a very low coast for the space of a good musket shot; and then there was a sudden rise to a very great height. The hummock, the high bluff, and the intervening low coast for the space of a good musket shot (of the year 1721) may still be seen at Ludington. And Charlevoix's description makes it clear to me that in the year 1675 the river channel was at the southern base of the hummock and that the hummock was then near the river's mouth.

Of course the action of wind and wave from Lake Michigan has widened the sand bar about the hummock during the 250 years or more since Father Marquette's death. But, making due allowance for such changes if you visit Ludington today and take Charlevoix as guide, you may easily trace the old channel of 1675. And entering in spirit with Marquette you leave the great hummock on your left near the river's mouth and "fifteen paces higher you enter a lake which is two leagues in circuit."

Where then is the spot on which Father Marquette died? After weighing all the evidence I would say that he died either on the hummock or near its base. Local history and tradition point to this site. Recall some passages already quoted from the History of Mason County: "As they were passing the mouth of the river that now bears his name, he asked the men to land. Tenderly they bore him to the bank of the stream and constructed a shed of bark for his shelter. Upon the bank of the river and near the waters of the great lake they dug his grave, as he had directed."

And in another passage farther on the same History of Mason County says: "All accounts are that the party landed at the mouth of the river, entering the channel just enough to make a landing. The shed of bark was made upon the shore and by it his grave was dug. The Indian tradition is that his grave was at this point near the height."

The inhabitants of the old Indian village on the site of Ludington were Ottawas. And these Indians could never forget the "Angel of the Ottawas." So tradition says that they and their descendants fondly renewed the crosses on Marquette's grave.

GRAVE MARKERS REMEMBERED

Mr. Bert Smith of Ludington testified to the members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee on Dec. 11, 1926, in presence of Warren A. Cartier, where the last of these crosses was placed. Smith had not seen the cross in position himself. But its location had often been pointed out to him by one of the oldest and most respected citizens of Ludington, Mr. Richard Hatfield.

Hatfield had the reputation of being the best local historian of his day. He was gifted with a keen intellect, a retentive memory and a love for truth and accuracy. According to Hatfield's story, the cross was not on the hummock itself but on its eastern slope near the base. On that same day, Dec. 11, 1926, Mrs. Hull in the interview already mentioned, told the members of the committee in presence of Father Golden, that she had seen the last of the crosses in place when she was nine years old. And her mother, she said, explained to her that the cross marked the spot where Father Marquette died. Mrs. Hull locates the cross where Smith did, near the base of the hummock.

Among the illustrations in Thwaite's life of Father Marquette will be found what I consider an accurate reproduction of the death scene. The original is in the Marquette building, Chicago. It is a bronze relief cast of the death of Marquette, by the well-known artist, Herman A. MacNeil. The shed of bark appears upon the eminence; while the eminence itself is on the north short of the brook, near Lake Michigan. At the southeast corner of the shed is an open grave, and near it on the north-head towards the grave is the body of Marquette prepared for burial. The two Frenchmen are kneeling reverently beside the body, at whose head stands the large cross as the Father had requested.

And so, with the approval of the other members of the Alpha Sigma Tau committee, I would say to the students of Marquette University: Place your monument on the hummock. History, cartography, tradition, local landmarks, artistic conception and fond memories—living and relayed—all meet on that spot, the hummock, the place of Jacques Marquette's last repose.

I have no doubt whatever that this hummock described by Charlevoix is the "eminence" near the river's mouth which the contemporary "Relation" says Marquette himself chose for his burial. And so

Charlevoix does not deserve all the blame that has been given him for "neglecting the contemporary narrative." He clarifies and completes the contemporary narrative and has thus done a great service to Father Marquette. And a monument placed on the hummock will mark the spot where Father Marquette died, or be within a dozen feet of it.

Marquette University.

PATRICK LOMASNEY, S. J.

CARDINAL MUNDELEIN'S ESTIMATE OF THE ILLINOIS CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

THIS PUBLICATION is one we can be proud of. It is gotten up in an attractive form and its contents are interesting and instructive. I have been complimented on it and have heard it praised in many quarters from the Atlantic to the Pacific. It would be a pity to ever have its work discontinued for lack of support. The Society should receive encouragement from every source, and all who possibly can should enroll in its membership to safeguard the continuance of this work. I have seen movements of this kind begin, and I have seen them fail and the reason was generally lack of financial encouragement. Your system of life membership appeals to me as the best I have come across to make your work lasting, to insure its success. I need not add that your work has not only my blessing, it has my encouragement. It has every aid I can give it.

BISHOP ENGLAND'S CORRESPONDENCE WITH BISHOP ROSATI

(Continued from January issue.)

Bishop David wrote to Sister Mary Magdalene Neale of the Visitation Monastery, Georgetown, D. C., on January 16, 1833:

My good Bishop Flaget had taken it into his mind to resign his Bishopric, which by right then devolved on me, and consented to designate for me a coadjutor, which he thought a sufficient help for my old age and numerous infirmities. His abdication was accepted at Rome and every dispatch sent to me from that centre of ecclesiastical authority to constitute me Bishop of Bardstown, indults faculties, Bulls for my coadjutor, etc.; nothing was wanting to make the burden overwhelming. To express to you what I felt would be in vain. I shed more tears during three days than I have since I came to Kentucky. It was a profound affection united with astonishment at the step of that good Bishop, in whom his humility and the desire of a retired life had caused to forget all the sentiments of friendship and gratitude for one who had faithfully served him twenty-two years. He was all the while absent on a visitation of a part of his diocese, showing his infirmity by a journey of several hundred miles on horseback. The Bishop of St. Louis met him at Vincennes and persuaded him to accompany him to his own city and Ste. Genevieve, etc. This was a trait of a merciful Providence in my behalf. My letter of sorrow, lamentation and complaint at what he had done reached him at Ste. Genevieve, and was read by my true, generous friend, Bishop Rosati. I desired Bishop Flaget to bring him along with him to Bardstown, to consecrate, as I thought then, my coadjutor (Chabrat). But Providence had other views, and Bishop Rosati did not much contemplate that consecration. He had already expressed his surprise to Bishop Flaget and begun to press him to retrace his steps. This was happily effected at Nazareth. We all three Bishops offered Mass on St. John's day to obtain the light of God by the intercession of that beloved disciple of Our Lord. After we met together in private and found our good prelate willing to resume his charge, provided a coadjutor would be given him without delay, which will be effected, we all wrote to Rome—I to implore the mercy of the Holy Father and his ratification of what we had done, and entreat also the Cardinal Prefect to support my petition; Bishop Rosati to the same Cardinal to express assent to the measure.

“Our letters are gone to the See of Peter, and I hope I will obtain the favor of living in solitude, peace and retirement in my cottage of Nazareth, without any other title than that of Superior of Nazareth, at liberty now to make my more immediate preparation for the great journey of eternity. I am obliged to retain, till letters come from Rome, the title of Bishop of Bardstown, which is no great burden; for I have already bestowed on my dear Bishop the whole administrative powers, which he has immediately begun to exercise. Join me in giving thanks to God for this happy event and beg your good Mother and fervent Sisters to do the same; and while they admire with me the profound humility and eminent sanctity of Bishop Flaget, which appears as much in his

reassumption, as in his abdication, let them pray for us both, that we may continue to serve the Church of God, each according to his station.”⁵

On January 9, 1833, Bishop Flaget opened his heart to Father Frederick Rese of Cincinnati, as follows:

“As to a very intimate friend I will tell you of my own private affairs, in regard to my resignation—of which you must have certainly heard—I will tell you briefly how this favor was granted me. My direct petition to the Sovereign Pontiff was, that he might grant M. Chabrat, as the oldest, and I may say, the most learned of my priests, faculties to administer the sacrament of Confirmation without any episcopal consecration, and to aid me in the general administration. Knowing, however, that there might be difficulties in granting such a privilege, especially as there were already two Bishops in the same diocese, I added that, if my resignation were deemed necessary, I would with all my heart, after more than forty years in the missions of America, retire from the stage, where labors and trials were never wanting, to enjoy for the little time that may remain, and to me, the sweets of solitude and rest. In regard to this latter point it is settled that Monsignor David is by right Bishop, with Mgr. Chabrat for Coadjutor. Would to God that everybody was well pleased as I am with the news of these changes! *Mais Mon Dieu*, after all that I have heard and seen, it seems that everybody has complaints to make, except myself. Mgr. Rosati has very generously offered his counsels and meditation, and after having seen and heard both the clergy and the people, he has come to the following decisions: (1) That Mgr. David shall remain upon the field in order to send his resignation. (2) That I shall submit to the will of the Pope and resume the burden, if such be his good pleasure. (3) That Mgr. David shall at once pass over to me the whole administration of the diocese and that I shall accept the same. (4) That Mgr. Chabrat shall remain in statu quo until such time as answers to our letters come from Rome. Let us pray one for another. I have great confidence in your prayers and those of the grand work you have effected in the establishment of the Leopoldine Association for the Propagation of the Faith.”⁶

These two letters show among other things of importance, why Bishop England's news from Rome does not agree with the facts of history.

In regard to Bishop England's playful allusion to Bishop Rosati's desire of uniting the east bank of the Mississippi with the west, it appears that the desire was more reasonable than his friend supposed. For the journey overland from St. Louis to the Barrens, where the Seminary was situated, was, in those days of almost impassible roads, far more dangerous and difficult than the journey over the fine old French highway on the Illinois side, gratefully relieved by brief visits to the pastors of Cahokia, Prairie du Rocher, Kaskaskia; thence to Ste. Genevieve across the river, and after a night's

⁵ American Catholic Historical Researches, vol. xvi, p. 158.

⁶ American Catholic Historical Researches, vol. xvi, p. 160.

rest, overland to Perryville. As a matter of fact, Bishop Rosati obtained his request and by Papal decree, the western half of Illinois was incorporated in the diocese of St. Louis, and remained there until the erection of the diocese of Chicago in 1844.

As to Bishop De Necker's desire for a coadjutor, and in particular for Anthony Blanc as such, we may note that Anthony Blanc was appointed, but refused to accept the honor and burden. Bishop De Nekere fell a victim of the yellow fever, "dying the death of a saint" on September 4th, 1833. Anthony Blanc became his successor in 1835.

The relations of Archbishop Whitfield and Bishop England were peculiar, to say the least. The archbishop strongly opposed the appointment of Irish Bishops for American Sees, as is evidenced by the following paragraph from that prelate's letter to Bishop Rosati, dated Baltimore, December 12, 1832:

"A few days before Bishop E. Fenwick's death," wrote Archbishop Whitfield, "he informed me that he was then very unwell. He had written to me a short time before from Detroit concerning the petition he had made to the Pope for having Father Kenney as his coadjutor. A few days ago I asked Father Mulledy, the president of G. Town College, what he thought of it, he said that, as Father Kenney was a professed Father, he could not be a Bishop, unless the Pope strictly commanded him; besides that Fr. Kenney had already declined the coadjutorship of Dublin. I have written nothing to Rome concerning Cincinnati. It was Bp. Fenwick's opinion that Mr. Resé would not be suitable, but might do well at Detroit. From various sources this opinion appears well founded. Some hints have been sent to me from Ohio, that Mr. Kenney, being a Jesuit, it might be against the good of that diocese, were he elected, as by the will of Bp. Fenwick two-thirds of the churches and landed property have been left to the Dominicans. They have proposed to me to recommend certain priests from my Diocese. One or two proposed, I know would not accept. I have done nothing as yet. Should Rome consult me, then I might deliberate and give my opinion. But let us all be cautious. If possibly a good choice can be made, let an American born be recommended and (between us in strict confidence) I do really think, we should guard against having more Irish Bishops. I am really afraid of the consequences and I hope my fear proceeds from no national antipathy, but from motives God may approve. This you know is a dangerous secret, but I trust, it to one in whom I have full confidence.

Yours in Christ,

James, Archbishop of Baltimore."

Bishop England was at the time, the only Irish Bishop in the American hierarchy. The next in point of time, Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick, Coadjutor of Philadelphia, being consecrated June

¹ Archives of Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis. Cf. St. Louis Catholic Historical Review, vol. v, p. 244 s. q.

6, 1833, and Bishop Edward Purcell of Cincinnati on October 13, of the same year. Frederick Resé was appointed to Detroit; Father Kenny remained with the Jesuits, and Irish Bishops were selected in ever increasing numbers, because the Irish, together with the German Catholic immigrants, became the sum and substance of the Church in America.

The Second Provincial Council of Baltimore was held in October, 1833, a year later than was agreed upon by the prelates of the first. Both Bishops England and Rosati were in attendance. The main business transacted was the delimitation of the various dioceses. Only two sessions were held. In July of the following year Bishop England was in Rome. Here he received a special request to go to the Island of Haiti as Apostolic Delegate for the purpose of restoring religion to its former condition of freedom and purity. Bishop England feared, not so much a possible failure of his mission, but rather the danger to be incurred by his own poor diocese through his prolonged absence.

To his friend, the Bishop of St. Louis, he wrote as follows:

Rome, July 22, 1834.

Right Rev. and Dear Sir

I beg to inform you that, after repeated requests made to the Holy Father, I cannot induce him to acquiesce in relieving me from the charge of Haiti.

Suggestions have been made to me of various modes by which Charleston might be provided for. As yet I am not able to say which of these is liable to be acted upon. My business has been removed from the department of the Propaganda and committed to a special congregation with the Secretary for extraordinary ecclesiastical affairs, but no day has as yet been fixed for this congregation to meet.

I feel it my duty to apprise you that in one of those contingencies, I shall propose the following three names to have one of them chosen as my substitute and successor in the Diocese of Charleston, viz.

1. Rev. Paul Cullen, rector of the Irish College in Rome.
2. Rev. William Clancey, professor in the College of Carlow.
3. Rev. Patrick MacSweeney, president of the Irish College, Paris.

Rev. Mr. Odin was to have called upon me yesterday, previous to his departure last night. I have not seen him and know not whether he has gone. He was in excellent health.

I have the honor to remain, Right Rev. and Dear Sir,

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati, Bishop of St. Louis.

William Clancy was appointed Coadjutor Bishop and managed the affairs of the diocese for two years, and then departed. Paul Cullen, in the course of events, became Archbishop of Armagh and Cardinal-Archbishop of Dublin.

In the early part of the following year Bishop England hastened his preparations for his voyage to Haiti. He writes as follows from

Charleston, 3rd of March, 1835.

Right Rev, and Dear Sir.

I am ashamed of my seeming neglect in not having sooner replied to your kind letter, but a tremendous arrear of business, the organization of my poor Sisters of Mercy, the establishment of my Ursulines, the effort to raise money to support my seminary and to meet other expenses, as what I got in Europe did not clear me of debt, all this, together with the ordinary duties of a young diocese and preparations for receiving my coadjutor and departing for Hayti as soon as he should arrive, so overwhelmed me as not to allow me one moment.

I have, thank God, got though a portion of this, but much yet remain to be done, and the most difficult part, that of raising money.

I find however that the Holy See will be seriously disappointed in having forced upon me again the legation to Hayti. My coadjutor will not be able, I find by late accounts, to leave Ireland for a couple of months yet. And then it will be too late for me to go to the West Indies until after the summer. Meantime, however, I have more than abundance to occupy me here.

I read without envy, but with regret, that I could not have been there, the account of your splendid consecration of your magnificent church,⁸ and looked upon my few paltry boards, my empty pews, and my list of debts! Go on and prosper! You ask when I can spend a week with you. I would be glad it could be tomorrow, but God alone can tell if I shall ever be able to have that pleasure. I see little prospect of it at present, yet it is not impossible.

I foresee great difficulties in Hayti and the necessity of great exertions here. I have, without my own fault, been too long absent, and to very little purpose so far as Charleston is concerned, and, therefore, must try if I can, to make some amends. We are weak and few and poor, in debt and surrounded by formidable, wealthy and numerous opponents. One inducement would draw me to St. Louis. If I could get two or three thousand dollars for our poor place here.

New Orleans is again vacant. I wish that Portier could be prevailed upon to go thither and leave Mobile to someone else. With all his zeal and talents, though I say nothing upon the subject to him, I fear he is taking a wrong way to make a mission in that important section. Frenchmen will not answer, and he has made a very wrong admission of Irish students, in whom he has been disappointed, as I was myself, until I changed my plan. The subject is a delicate one for me to touch. In New Orleans he could, with the greatest advantage, bring in French (priests.) In Alabama they will not answer. I have had communications that would not be made to him, and I know the feeling which

⁸ After the consecration of his Cathedral Bishop, Rosati sent a glowing account of splendid building and the festivities held—the occasion, to the Pope and to the Prefect of the Leopoldine Association and probably to the Association for the Propagation of the Faith in Lyons. From the letter it would appear that some of the American Bishops were also favored with it. Bishop England's Cathedral was a poor frame structure, and escaped the fire because it stood in the rear of the church lot. The second St. Finbari Cathedral was destroyed by fire in 1861.

exists, which delicacy towards so good a man restrains from being expressed unpleasantly.

Rome would instantly accede to it, but he deprives New Orleans of its best bishop, and keeps a place in which he cannot be so useful. Could you do anything in this? After the exhibition in October, 1833, I fear to move in anything, for suspicion seems to attach to everything that I suggest. And some of the most influential persons appear to be ready to thwart anything that I would propose. This has determined me to keep as far aloof as my sense of duty will permit.

There are many other important concerns upon which I have suggestions, that to me it would seem, under other circumstances, I could not avoid making. But as I said at the Propaganda, when asked to give my opinion and report upon the state of our church, "I am one and almost alone in my opinions and views, I am not satisfied with what I see, but the general sentiment is so decidedly against my views and opinions, that it could do no benefit to urge them. I beg therefore to be excused. If I cannot promote harmony, I will not create dissension."

I perceive that in the West you have the cry against you equally strong, as it is at the East and at the South.⁹ Here it is worse than I ever knew it. Still we manage to keep our opponents in check. But here they treat us worse than you can imagine; for, by reason of our paucity and poverty and their numbers and wealth, they overwhelm us. Education is in their hands, they will not give us a scholar, and then prejudices are kept up and the means for supporting our institutions are kept from us.¹⁰ The West has an immense advantage over us in this, and so has Mobile over me. New Orleans sustains his college and convent. Our Ursulines have two boarders and seven day pupils. They are treated with cold politeness, but they are first rate women of fine accomplishments and great religion and will win their way. More flattering offers were made to them if they would leave the city and go to the country, but neither they nor I would listen for a moment to the proposal.

Adieu for the present, accept my thanks for your letter and be assured of the esteem of

Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati.

The phrase "After the exhibition in October, 1833," no doubt refers to opposition and possibly incrimination, the Irishman, Bishop England, met at the Second Council of Baltimore, which convened in October, 1833. Ecclesiastical sense of decorum has cast a veil over the occurrences. But it is plain from this letter that Bishop

⁹ The anti-Catholic movement is here meant.

¹⁰ The Ursuline Nuns were brought to Charleston in 1834, for the purpose of conducting a school for the higher classes; but Protestants refused to send their daughters, and Catholics were too poor to sustain it. After suffering in poverty for twenty years, the older members of the Order returned to Ireland and the others were sent to Cincinnati by Bishop Reynolds. Bishop Lynch succeeded in re-establishing them in the diocese.

England felt hurt, realizing his lonely and helpless position. But he proceeded to Haiti and did his best to restore favorable conditions for the Church. On June 17 he wrote to Bishop Rosati from New York, whence he was about to sail for Europe.

New York, June, 2836.

Right Rev. and Dear Sir.

When your letter enclosing that for Mr. Maginnis arrived, I was on my return from the West Indies, whither I had gone in the middle of April, and whence I arrived in Charleston on the 3d of this month, after another and perhaps an ineffectual attempt to bring the island into union with the Holy See.

I feel obliged by the very kind and honorable manner in which you have acted towards Mr. Maginnis. He is a good moral priest, who has not been content however with the missions upon which I sent him, and I do not consider him qualified for the places which he considers his due. He was therefore dissatisfied, and I told him he may go whither he would, and that I would give him an exeat, as he had a right to expect. Subsequently to his application to you, he called on me and asked for the mission of Columbus in Georgia, which I gave him, and where he now is. I have therefor told Mr. Baker my Secretary to answer yours among many other letters which I could not attend to, as I was under the necessity of going immediately to Europe, whither I go by the packet of Liverpool on the 24th. I told him that if Mr. Maginnis chose to profit by your letter, he may be allowed to do so.

My business takes me to Ireland, France and Italy, and I hope that I may be able to return by the end of the year with the Superior of the Ursulines, who goes with me to Ireland on business of her house.

I am now busy in my preparations. I beg you will excuse this hurried letter

from Your affectionate Brother in Christ,

John, Bishop of Charleston.

Right Rev. Dr. Rosati

Bishop of St. Louis.

On May, 1838, shortly after the great conflagration that destroyed nearly one-third of the city of Charleston, Bishop England issued a "Letter addressed to the charitable and benevolent citizens of the United States in behalf of the Catholic congregations which suffered by the Great Fire at Charleston." A copy of this circular reached Bishop Rosati, who immediately ordered a collection to be taken up for the Catholics of Charleston. In an old discarded bank-book Bishop Rosati marked down the results of the collection under the title:

"MONEYS COLLECTED FOR THE CHURCH OF CHARLESTON, 1838"

"Moneys collected for the Church of Charleston, 1838.

July 15	In the Cathedral Church of St. Louis.....	\$110.00
July 16	Sister Angela Superior of the Asylum.....	10.00
July 16	By W.....	5.00
July 18	Cash ..	5.00

July 19	Cahokias	5.00
July 21	Sister Frances, Superior of Hospital.....	10.00
July 21	Madam Thieffry, Superior of Sacred Heart.....	10.00
July 21	Mr. Willior Schwab, Organ-maker.....	10.00
Aug. 9	St. Charles	9.50
	Gravois (now Kirkwood).....	3.87
	Dardennes	3.93
	St. Louis University	50.12½
	Florissant	24.00
	English Settlement	15.00
	Cape Girardeau	12.25
	St. Michael, Fredericktown.....	16.56¼
Sept. 5	Ste. Genevieve.....	15.00
	Portage	2.00
	St. Mary's, Barrens	19.50
	St. Joseph's Apple Creek	14.00
	New Madrid	8.00
	Vieille Mine (Old Mines).....	10.00
	M. Van Clostere, Prairie du Rocher.....	6.00
	M. Saulnier, Carondelet.....	5.00
Making a total of.....		379.78¾

Bishop Rosati transmitted this amount to Bishop England with a letter of sympathy, probably including a promise of further help, as Bishop England's words "charitable recollection and generous beginning" in the following letter would indicate.

Charleston (S.C.) 14th August 1838.

Dear and Right Rev. Sir;

Your consoling letter of July 16th has been duly received and would have been answered before now, but for an arrear of business that presses me down, in consequence of the large demands upon my time to help out B. C. in his remarks upon Doctor Bachmann,¹¹ and to do this with any tolerable accuracy requires heavy, close and laborious and precise research.

I am truly grateful for your charitable recollection and your generous beginning. We have already made some progress. St. Patrick's, a wooden frame building, covered with a tin, 60 feet by 36 clear, and having galleries, total

¹¹ Dr. John Bachmann, a Lutheran Minister had on November 12, 1837, purchased and afterwards published a "Discourse on the Doctrine and Discipline of the Evangelical Lutheran Church," in which he attacked, among other points, the Catholic doctrine of Transsubstantiation. Bishop England had this discourse reprinted in the Catholic Miscellany, and then, week by week dissected its arguments and showed up its fallacies in nineteen letters, full of learnnig, wisdom and wit. The treatise may be found in the first volume of Bishop England's work under the title "Letters on the Catholic Doctrine of Transsubstantiation," p. 347 to 474. Archbishop Sebastian Messmer edited a second edition of Bishop England's Works. McElvones' edition is in two volumes.

expense about \$5000, one half paid, will be ready for the divine offices in five or six weeks.

St. Mary's brick about 80 by 50 will cost nearly \$20,000 of which there is secured about \$12,000. I lay the foundation, God willing, tomorrow and it will probably be finished by this time twelve months.

The old wooden cathedral 80 by 40 will hold for a few years, and God will bring us better times. I am doing what I can, but that "can" is exceedingly little, but I hope our foundations are solid and, above all, I have great confidence that our Ursuline community will hold its ground and be very beneficial.

Indeed, I am very tired. Yours is the fifteenth letter I have this day disposed of.

The weather is here exceedingly hot, but as yet, thank God, not very unhealthy.

May God reward all our benefactors an hundredfold and give you every spiritual and temporal success for your charitable work, is the prayer of, Right Rev. Sir,

Your Affectionate Brother in Christ

John, Bishop of Charleston.

The Right Rev. Doctor Rosati.

Bishop Rosati endorsed this letter of thanks as follows: "1838, August 14, Rt. Rev. Bishop England, no answer wanted."

No letters of later date were found in our archives. Bishop Rosati started on his own mission to Haiti in 1841 to complete the good work Bishop England had left unfinished in the island republic; Bishop England died on April 10, 1842, and Bishop Rosati followed him into eternity on September 25, 1843.

Both these prelates were of heroic mold, and both deserve the "monumentum aere perennius" or an exhaustive and well-written *Life*. Materials for this double purpose exist in abundance. We feel sure that the proper historians will appear in due time.

St. Louis, Missouri.

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER.

THE PRIEST'S HOUSE — A RELIC OF EARLY CATHOLICITY IN KENTUCKY

In 1934 will be celebrated the three hundredth anniversary of the foundation of Maryland by the English Catholics. It is not the purpose of this short article to discuss the question of the number of Catholics aboard the *Ark and Dove*, or their influence in establishing religious freedom, or the claims of certain historians that Rhode Island was the first of the colonies to grant freedom of conscience; for these and other topics will again pass under the searching scrutiny of the historian. But no one, who has studied the chronicles of the times, can have any hesitation about the importance of the events. Already the Catholic Historical Society has discussed some features of the celebration, and the *Commonweal* has brought the subject before the entire country by offering a thousand dollar prize for the best "Sketch of the History of Maryland from 1634 to 1790."

This short article deals with a very minor event which was a result of the religious complications in colonial Maryland. The story takes us from the struggles of the Catholics in Maryland to the settlements in north central Kentucky, where in 1808 Bishop Flaget was placed over the diocese of Bardstown.

After establishing a colony where there was religious freedom and after welcoming people of every faith, the Catholics of colonial Maryland found themselves outnumbered by those of other denominations and deprived of the very rights which they had gladly accorded to strangers. From the year 1651 until the American Revolution they were disfranchised and persecuted by those whom they had befriended. They saw the seat of government removed from the old town of St. Marys to Annapolis, and witnessed such hatred on the part of their persecutors, that Catholics, without bearing insult, could not walk in front of the court-house of the principal city of the colony they had founded.

Even after the Revolutionary War was fought and won, the Catholics of Maryland felt the spirit of religious animosity around them. As their ancestors had come from England to seek peace and protection in the service of God, so would they find homes in the western part of the New World, where they and their children would enjoy religious liberty. In 1785 twenty families sold their farms in Maryland, placed their belongings in wagons and ox-carts and started on their exodus to Kentucky. These first Catholic settlers were devout

people; and while they did not neglect their temporal interests, they were ever solicitous for the things of God and the soul. During their long years of persecution in Maryland they had ever held in reverence the priest of God; and now in their western homes they would be equally solicitous, not only for his ministrations, but his comforts.

In that scholarly volume: "The Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky," by Benedict J. Webb, many an interesting story is told of the hardships of the early missionary priests in that state. But in every home they were received with honor; and every effort was made to lessen their privations. In many a remote locality where a church could not be built and where the priest came only at intervals, there was built a little frame house to accommodate the priest. It was known as the Priest's House, and was set aside for his exclusive use. One of these little structures is still standing on the Liver's farm about eight miles from Bardstown, Kentucky; and about a mile from the new St. Gregory's Church at Samuel's depot, thirty-two miles south of Louisville.

In its dilapidated condition the little Priest's House does not appear very attractive or inviting. But the writer remembers it fifty years ago when as a child he prayed there before the simple altar. I remember it, too, on a winter's night when an immense log in the spacious fireplace was all aglow, and sent up showers of sparks into the equally spacious chimney, and lit up the face of a venerable missionary who recited his office before the blazing hearth.

The little house was divided into two rooms; one of which was the priest's bedroom and the other a chapel with every convenience for the sacrifice of the Mass. When the house was built no one knows. Mrs. Gertrude Mattingly, the youngest child of Harry Livers, and now in an advanced age, told the writer that the house was old when she was a child. In 1851 the few Catholics scattered through the neighborhood were able to construct a small brick church on property donated by Harry Livers; but long before that date the Priest's House had done service.

Let us picture one of the religious scenes connected with the Priest's House. It is towards the end of June, say in 1827, when Rev. George A. M. Elder, the President and one of the founders of St. Joseph's College, Bardstown, Ky., has been freed from his manifold duties at the institution of learning and has seen the students off to their homes. Instead of a vacation he will devote his time to missionary work and will begin with a scattered flock, later to be known as St. Gregory's Parish. He mounts his ambling nag and rides the eight miles over a fair road. As he nears the Liver's home-

stead a group of children run down the long lane to meet him; for word had been sent that the children must be ready for a two weeks' course in catechism. Just think of the joy of two weeks with the priest!

The Priest's House is ready. He will be just as quiet here as in his room in the college. The rag carpet on the floor of his room is striped and of every hue. There is a rude home-made table upon which he puts his hat, gloves, and saddle-bags. The chairs have seats of corn husks, but they are not uncomfortable; and his bed is woven of strong hempcord instead of springs. As there is no clothes-press he will hang his coat on a wooden peg in the wall.

So far no one has greeted the priest. What can be the meaning of the silence? When he had appeared far down the lane the anxious children ran towards him; then at a word from the priest the oldest fell upon their knees and the smaller children imitated their older brothers and sisters. As he dismounted and walked slowly across the yard the members of the household knelt in lowly reverence; for Father Elder had brought with him the Holy Eucharist. On the following morning many of the grown people would have to be in the fields before the Mass for the children, but they asked the privilege of beginning the day with Holy Communion.

Father Elder passed from his own room to the chapel without leaving his humble residence. A modest chapel it was, twenty feet by twenty in size, with only a little altar for the portable altar-stone and the small missal. There were no pews, but only a chair or two for the older folks. Those who could not find room within the chapel were content to kneel on the grass in the yard.

Father Elder finds his way through the crowd of little ones, who are awaiting to adore their Lord and God, and places the ciborium within the tiny tabernacle. Then he says a prayer, and the children find their way out into the yard. The greetings must be short, for Father Elder wishes to begin the lessons as soon as possible.

Benches have been arranged on the spacious porch of the Liver's house and are filled with children anxious to hear the word of God. Many grown people are there, for they would take occasion to hear the explanation of their holy religion.

Father Elder was with his own people. He was the son of one of the first Catholic immigrants to Kentucky and thoroughly understood those with whom he worked. Educated under the fostering care of the Sulpician Fathers at Baltimore, Maryland, he had returned to labor among the Catholics of his native state.

Following the catechetical lesson there was an intermission, when the boys and girls opened their rather large baskets and partook of the bountiful repast prepared for them by their parents. Then there was recreation with simple games and amusements, followed by another session of class. The exact mastering of the prayers was an all important part of the day's program.

The children were dismissed long before it was dark, for many had far to go and often to walk the entire distance. But at times a friendly neighbor brought a score and more of the children in a capacious farm-wagon and waited to take them home. Sometimes as many as four little children rode astride a single horse, holding on bravely while their older brother or sister guided the gentle animal.

So the days went by with the routine of classes. For many these would be the only opportunities which would come to the children to learn the elements of their religion. At the close of the two weeks of instruction, the parents would be invited to listen to their children reciting their lessons. On such an occasion the priest reminded the parents of their duty to see that the children continued their study of the catechism. Every evening fathers and mothers were to kneel with their children and recite night prayers in common; and this not only drew down the blessing of God upon the family, but assured the remembrance of the prayers which had been learned under such difficulties.

For fifty years I have watched the old house go to decay, for it is no longer serving its purpose. When a child I prayed within the small chapel and felt the sweet influence of its holiness. Even when as a boy I walked past the sacred little structure I seemed to tread the grass lightly, as if fearful of treating the place with some slight disrespect. Sainly priests had abided there, and prayed there, and offered up the sacrifice of the Mass. Devout people had come there for the instruction and for the sacraments. The big frame house which stood near by seemed to be sanctified by the Priest's House. The whole household appeared nearer to God and blessed by God, because it sheltered the priest of God.

I still recall my first visit to the little chapel after my own ordination. The altar stone had been removed and the sacred vestments were no longer there; and people no longer came for instruction and the sacraments. But the place was still holy; and with reverence I knelt and said a prayer.

I would not plead for a preservation of the old Priest's House; let slow decay do its work. While the Church preserves with reverence those things and places which have been connected with her services,

still she realizes that many of these shrines must perish. In our large cities, as business trespasses upon old living sections, many a church is torn down and many an altar removed. They have done their work; and the people who found there the consolation of religion are dead or gone. The buildings perish, as do they who worshipped therein; only the good deeds remain, registered as they are in the book of eternal life.

Often during the past thirty years have I passed by the old Priest's House, each time noting the gradual decay. Strong hands must have built it, for it had defied the elements all these years. At each visit I bowed my head. At each visit I thought of preserving a photograph and a short account of the little structure.

I am interested in this relic of early Catholicity in Kentucky because it stands for an ideal. It reminds me of the sacrifices which the Catholics of the period made; it reminds me of their reverence for the priest of God, and of their effort to provide for his temporal wants, while he ministered to the things of the soul.

When the stage coach line from Louisville to Nashville was superseded by the railroad, St. Gregory's little church was made more accessible, and the Priest's House was not of the same service that it had formerly been. Still long after the Civil War it was used by those who ministered to the parish; and hallowed are the names of Fathers Bouchet, Defraigne, and Russell, the devoted pastors who came at intervals to say Mass in the little church nestled away among the oak trees.

A new church has been built by the little parish. It stands close to the railroad and is served by an all-time pastor. It has its own school and is flourishing beyond the most sanguine hopes of those who have watched its recent growth. When its people were gathered together by a pastor who could devote his entire time to their religious needs, the number of Catholics scattered throughout the neighborhood was a surprise. The Priest's House had proved its influence in saving many to the Faith.

HENRY S. SPAULDING, S. J.

St. Marys, Kansas.

INFLUENCE OF THE IRISH PEOPLE IN THE FORMATION OF THE UNITED STATES

“America was lost by Irish emigrants.” (Parliamentary Debate—Lord Mountjoy—April 2, 1784.)

“The Irish are with the Americans to a man.” (Lord Chatham—The English Parliament, 1775.)

“They were known as ‘The Pennsylvania Line,’ whereas they might have been, with more propriety, called ‘The Line of Ireland’ * * * always prefer an appeal to the bayonet to a toilsome march.” (General) Henry Lee—Memoirs.)

“I am informed that Doctor Franklin, with secret approbation of this Court, has engaged between thirty and forty of the Irish officers in this service to go and serve in the Rebel Army.” (Lord Stormont, English Minister to France, to Lord Weymouth, 1778.)

“We acknowledge, with pleasure and gratitude, that your nation has produced patriots who have nobly distinguished themselves in the cause of humanity and America.” (“Address to the People of Ireland,” adopted by the Continental Congress—Philadelphia, 1775.)

“As the Irish Brigade struck down the British power at Landen and Fontenoy, so did the refugee Irish in the ranks of the American patriot army contribute to pluck from the haughty brow of Britain the palm of empire.” (Samuel Smiles, English writer.)

“But as for you, our dear and good friends of Ireland * * * if the government, whom you at this time acknowledge, does not take off and remove every restraint on your trade, commerce and manufactures, I am charged to assure you that means will be found to establish your freedom in this respect, in the fullest and amplest manner.” (Benjamin Franklin; “Address to the Good People of Ireland,” from Versailles, Oct. 4, 1778.)

PRE-REVOLUTION SETTLEMENTS BY THE IRISH PEOPLE

In these items we have adhered strictly to *facts* that can be verified by existing records. We have taken but a few from each section of the Original Colonies; there are many equally effective in proving the tremendous immigration of the Irish to our country prior to the Revolution, but lack of space forbids entering them.

1621—Irish colony brought from Cork, Ireland, by Sir William Newce, settled at what is now Newport News, Virginia.

1627—(about) Large colonization in Virginia by “Daniel Gookin of Carrigoline, County Cork, with people from Cork.” (State Papers—Public Record Office, England.)

- 1633—First record of Irish settlement in Maryland.
- 1642—First record of Irish settlers in Massachusetts.
- 1653—Sir Richard Nethersole's expedition of 100 Irish families to Virginia.
- 1669—Colony from Kinsale, Ireland, arrived in South Carolina.
- 1674—First record of Irish settlers in New York.
- 1675—More than 100 Irish-born are recorded in Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Connecticut to have fallen in battle, or were murdered by savages in "King Philip's War."
- 1676—The *only* European country that sent relief to the Colonists in their great distress this year was Ireland—"The Irish Donation" sailed from Dublin. (New Eng. Hist. and Genealog. Soc.'s Annual Register, 1848.)
- 1682—Important Irish colony from Cork and Wexford, Ireland, came over with William Penn.
- 1684—Lord Baltimore's proclamation making the County of New Ireland, Maryland, and sub-dividing it into three parts—New Connaught, New Leinster and New Munster.
- 1690—An Irish settlement from Limerick, Ireland, begun in Berkley County, South Carolina, known as "The Limerick Plantation."
- 1687—Thomas Dougan was Governor of the Province of New York, born in County Kildare, Ireland.
- 1687—(about) Settlements by Irish colonists in Suffolk, Albany, Columbia, Ulster, Westchester and Schenectady Counties, N. Y.
- 1714-1720—"Fifty-three ships were registered in Boston from various Irish ports, mostly 'with passengers' " during this period.
- 1717-1723—Irish settlements in Lancaster, Bucks, Westmoreland, Dauphin, Cumberland, Northampton and York Counties, Penna., by immigrants from Armagh and Donegal principally.
- 1720—"Log College," founded at Neshaminy, Pa., by Rev. William Tennant from County Armagh, Ireland.
- 1720—Irish from Cork, Kerry and Tipperary, Ireland (1,500 persons), landed in Boston—located in Maine. Established the town of Cork in what is now Lincoln County.
- 1728—5,600 Irish people landed that year at Delaware River ports.
- 1729—5,655 Irish people landed that year at Philadelphia and but 553 from all other European countries.
- 1729—"About nineteen hundred families had already sailed from Ireland to New England." (*American Weekly Mercury*, Philadelphia, Pa., Feb. 18, 1729.) These were mostly from Cork, Kerry, Waterford and Wexford, settling in what are now Massachusetts, New Hampshire and Maine.

- 1729—"From 1729 to 1750 about 12,000 annually came from Ireland to America." (Dr. Robert Baird—History of Religion in America—New York, 1844.)
- 1730—Large Irish colony settled in Williamsburg County, South Carolina.
- 1735—Kennedy O'Brien, an Irishman, founded the city of Augusta, Ga.
- 1735-1770—Large Irish settlements in Shenandoah Valley, Albemarle and Orange Counties, Va.
- 1737—Founding of The Charitable Irish Society, Boston.
- 1746—"The Irish were the first to settle in the Yadkin River District." (Colonial Records of North Carolina.)
- 1761—Colony from Dublin, Ireland, settled in North Carolina.
- 1764—"Robert Harper Petition"—300 families, mostly from Monaghan, Ireland, settled in Washington County, N. Y.
- 1765—Large Irish colony, founded by William Gilliland, a native of Ireland, in Essex County, N. Y.
- 1765—Large Irish emigration to North Carolina. President Andrew Jackson's parents landed that year.
- 1766-1770—127 ships arrived at Port of New York from Ireland—mostly carrying passengers.
- 1766—Lieut. Governor Brown arrived at Pensacola, Florida, with 200 settlers from Ireland.
- 1768—Largest single colony in Georgia up to that time came from Ireland—107 persons.
- 1771—Founding of the Society of The Friendly Sons of Saint Patrick, Philadelphia, Pa.
- 1772—Two Irish colonies settled in Georgia, one near Queensborough Township and "The Irish Colony" in Jefferson County.
- 1773—"Within this fortnight 3,500 emigrants have arrived from Ireland." (Baltimore *Advertiser*, Aug. 30, 1773.)

We give here an incomplete but, as far as it goes, an authentic record of soldiers and sailors in the Revolutionary Army and Navy who were Irish born or of Irish extraction. These were drawn from the State and National Muster Rolls and forever refute the oft-repeated assertion of biased authorities that the Irish people were a minor factor in our struggle for Freedom:

COMMANDING OFFICERS BORN IN IRELAND

Generals—John Armstrong, Ephraim Blaine, Andrew Brown, Richard Butler, Thomas Conway, Edward Hand, Andrew Lewis, Richard Montgomery, Stephen Moylan, Griffith Rutherford, Michael

Ryan, John Shee, William Thomson, William Irvine, William Maxwell, James Hogan, John Greateon.

Commodores—John Barry, John Shaw.

Revolutionary Generals born in this country of Irish parents—James Moore, James Clinton, George Clinton, Joseph Reed, John Sullivan.

Pennsylvania Regiments—James Barry, William Butler, Sharp Delaney, Morgan Connor, Bernard Dougherty, James Irvine, Francis Johnston, John Kelly, Robert Magaw, William Magaw, John Moylan, William McAlevy, Morgan O'Connor, John Patten, Thomas Proctor, John Shea, James Smith, John Stewart, Walter Stewart.

Virginia Regiments—Andrew Donnelly, Charles Lewis, Charles Magill, Mathew Donovan, John Fitzgerald.

Kentucky Regiments—Thomas Casey, James McBride.

Massachusetts Regiments—Michael Ryan.

New Hampshire Regiments—Pierse Long, Hercules Mooney, Daniel Moore, Andrew McCleary, Daniel Reynolds, Mathew Thornton, Joseph Welsh.

Continental and French Armies—Andrew Brown, Arthur Dillon, Bartholomew Dillon, Theobald Dillon, Charles Walsh.

Georgia Regiments—Patrick Carr, John Dooley.

South Carolina Regiments—Patrick Welsh.

New Jersey Regiments—John Neilson.

New York Regiments—Patrick Smith.

Delaware Regiments—John Haslett.

North Carolina Regiments—Thomas Burke, Robert Meleaney.

REVOLUTIONARY NAVY CAPTAINS BORN IN IRELAND

Massachusetts Navy—Michael Barry, James Bourke, Simon Byrne, William Callaghan, John Casey, John Donaldson, Simon Forrester, Patrick Hare, Jeremiah Heggarty, Hugh Hill, Lawrence Hogan, John Kehoe, James Magee, John Maloney, Thomas Moriarty, John Murphy, John O'Brien, Francis Roach, John Tracy, Michael Tracy, Nicholas Tracy, Patrick Tracy.

Pennsylvania Navy—Patrick Barry, James Byrne, Paul Cox, Gustavus Conyngham, Mathew Lawler, Daniel Murphy, David Walsh.

Rhode Island Navy—William Malone, Francis Mulligan, John Murphy.

Virginia Navy—Bernard Gallagher.

Connecticut Navy—Richard McCarty.

New York Navy—Thomas Quigley.

Continental Navy—Michael Shaw, Thomas Sullivan.

There are forty-seven Colonels' names in this list who were IRISH BORN. With thirty-seven Naval Captain—a rank on water equal to a Colonel on land—and the SEVENTEEN GENERALS—Irish born—in the Army that fought for American Freedom—surely any fair-minded reader must recognize that our country owes a debt to Ireland that can be paid in part by kind thoughts for the land that gave so many of her sons to battle for our LIBERTY.

As examples we quote a few names, the country of whose origin no one can mistake, and the number of each. These names are taken from the State and National Archives of the Revolutionary period:

Burke, 221; Brady, 127; Connolly, 243; Callaghan, 150; Carroll, 183; Daly (or Dailey), 205; Doherty, 248; Donnelly, 155; Doyle, 125; Farrell, 142; Fitzgerald, 184; Flynn, 138; Hogan, 115; Kenny, 164; Kelly, 695; Lynch, 128; McCarthy, 331; McCormack, 154; McGinnis, 112; Murphy, 494; McGuire, 168; McLaughlin, 223; McMahon, 143; McMullen-Mullen, 231; O'Brien, 231; O'Connor, 327; O'Neill, 178; Quinn, 122; Reilly, 285; Ryan, 322; Sullivan, 266; Sweeney, 115; Walsh, 201.

Close to the hundred mark we find dozens of true Irish names, such as Barry, Brannon, Casey, Cassidy, Cavanaugh, Delaney, Dempsey, Donohue, Driscoll, Duffy, Flannagan, Gallagher, Haggerty, Healy, Hurley, Kearney, Keating, Leary, Madden, Malone, Mahoney, Maloney, Mooney—many Mc's and O's,—Nolan, Regan, Rourke, Shea, Sheehan and Sheridan.

We find in our search that TWO HUNDRED AND SIXTY-ONE officers of the Continental Army and Navy were BORN IN IRELAND. Over FIFTEEN HUNDRED Commissioned Officers and more than TWENTY THOUSAND non-commissioned officers and enlisted men, who bore indisputable IRISH NAMES, are on the Revolutionary Muster Rolls.

Signers of the Declaration of Independence born in Ireland were: Edward Rutledge, James Smith, George Taylor and Mathew Thornton.

Signers, descendants of Irish immigrants, were: Charles Carroll, Thomas Lynch, Thomas McKean and George Read.

The compiler of this information desires to acknowledge his appreciation to the historian, Michael J. O'Brien, and to his contribution to historical literature—"A Hidden Phase of American History."

FRANK SHERIDAN.

Pebble Beach, Calif.

HISTORY IN THE PRESS

SITE OF OLD KASKASKIA IS RIVER VICTIM

(*By Associated Press*)

Kaskaskia, Ill., March 27.—In fulfillment of a legendary Indian curse, the waves of the Mississippi River lapping away most of the site of old Kaskaskia—Illinois's first capital—have destroyed the hope of the Illinois State Historical Society placing a marker there.

With practically all of the ancient streets of the village covered by the rippling expanse of the "Father of Waters," only a small island remains to mark what was once the capital of all the territory between the Alleghenies and the Rockies. The island yearly grows smaller.

The historical society succeeded in securing a brick from the old capitol building in which the first territorial and state legislatures met.

In its disappearance, tradition has it that a legendary Indian curse has been fulfilled. Situated on a small peninsula at the mouth of the Kaskaskia or Okaw River which joins the Mississippi River within a short distance, the site was made an island in 1881 when the two rivers met behind the town.

The story of the curse has its beginnings two centuries ago when the French emigrated from Canada and came to Kaskaskia to settle among the Indians. Tradition tells how Jean Bernard, his wife and ten-year-old daughter Marie came with them. As the village grew, Bernard prospered as a trader and his daughter grew more beautiful each day. Bernard grew wealthy and was the leading citizen of the settlement.

The legend tells of the numerous suitors who were rejected by Marie firmly but politely, until one evening she set eye on a stalwart Indian youth, one of the converts of the village.

The Indian boy had endeared himself to both his tribe and the whites by his unassuming but enterprising ways. Jean Bernard seeing the promising youth about the village took him into the trading business with him.

Marie fell in love with her father's protegee much to the amazement of her parents. Indignantly Bernard severed his business connections and everything possible was done to discourage the budding romance.

Marie's suitor left the village and for a number of years was not heard of. Marie apparently had outgrown the affair when suddenly the boy appeared and the two eloped. A searching party set out and

three days later found them in a camp down the Mississippi River. Bernard was given the privilege to do as he liked with the boy. He tied the Indian to a raft, face toward the sky and set him adrift in the river. As the raft floated out from shore the doomed Indian cursed Bernard and Kaskaskia and asked that he be killed by his own white people and that the river destroy the village. The girl was placed in a convent where she died.

Bernard was later killed by a Frenchman in a duel, the legend says, and the river completed the fulfillment of the curse by engulfing old Kaskaskia.

More credulous people still believe that the ghost of the Indian appears on stormy nights, floating face upward on the waves over the vanished village.

Older than St. Louis or New Orleans, this early Mission post which provided a resting place for voyagers, and was the first territorial and state capital of Illinois, lives only in history as a place to hang a story on, or material for a poet's dream.

SHAWNEETOWN BELIEVES RESTORATION OF HARBOR WILL CAUSE CITY TO BOOM

(By Associated Press)

Shawneetown, Ill., March 6.—Lore of early frontier life on the Ohio River dating back to the beginning of the eighteen hundreds, is closely linked with the proposed plan in Congress for widening and deepening the harbor at Shawneetown.

These pioneer tales of a century past, when the river was the principal trade route to the interior and Shawneetown was its metropolis, have given rise to dreams of a restored Shawneetown. The ghost of the old river town has returned to tell of the old days of power and prominence on the river.

Shawneetown, one of the oldest towns in the state, was founded by the Shawnee Indians long before the coming of the white man. Shortly after its settlement by the whites it became a center of river traffic, and its harbor has been a place of refuge for steamboats and barges plying the river since 1815.

Following the first settlement in the town by Michael Sprinkle, a blacksmith, in 1804, the town grew rapidly and the first bank in the state, "The Bank of Illinois," was founded there on December 28, 1816. So wild was the country and so uncertain the possession of any wealth that John C. Reeves, cashier of the bank, slept on the silver, which was kept in barrels. The bank almost failed and was

later granted another charter under the name of the State Bank of Illinois at Shawneetown.

The river was a great cause for anxiety to the inhabitants from the time of their first settlement, because of its great floods. The houses, with the exception of the two brick structures, were built on stilts from two to three feet high, as a protection against the water.

Waters of the river often flooded the town, but it was not until late in the century that its citizens were able to erect a levee which would give them protection from the sudden rises. As late as 1907 a petition was presented to Congress to make appropriations to erect a levee which would keep the high water of the river from the streets.

The greatest flood in the history of the town came in 1858, when the water rose so high that steamboats navigated with ease through the streets. In this year Shawneetown was granted a charter as a city and the first levee was built. Old records tell of another flood in February of 1883, when the water stood eight feet in the houses.

One cause for concern arising from the river had nothing to do with the floods. In 1811 when the great comet flashed through the sky, the wondering populace gathered at the river bank to witness the spectacle. Just as the comet reached the horizon the Ohio River's first steamboat came up the river, sparks flying from its funnels. The frightened people fled in terror, thinking that the comet was on the river.

The first government land office established in Illinois was opened in Shawneetown on February 21, 1812. It was known as the land office of the South East District of Illinois. A document directed to the land office of Shawneetown bearing the signature of Zachary Taylor written on sheepskin is now in the possession of George Johnson, of Hamilton County.

A big event in the history of the city was the visit of Lafayette on May 14, 1825. The countryside gathered at the river bank to greet him, and the great Frenchman walked on a carpet of calico to the Rawlings house, where he dined with state notables.

An interesting criticism of the early people of the city is contained in a letter written by a Mr. Low, a missionary who visited Shawneetown in 1816. "Among the 300 inhabitants," Mr. Low said, "there is not a single soul who makes any pretense at religion. They spend their Sundays fighting, drinking at the taverns or grog shops, hunting in the woods, or trading in their stores."

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